

# **Contested urban economies:** representing and mobilising London's diverse economy

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by

Myfanwy Mary Taylor

Department of Geography and Bartlett School of Planning  
University College London

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I, Myfanwy Mary Taylor, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Myfanwy Mary Taylor



## **Abstract**

This thesis builds on the growing interest in the diversity of urban economies as a starting point for more inclusive approaches to urban economic development by exploring the mobilisation of diverse economic actors. Its central innovation is to use the notion of economic performativity and Gibson-Graham's notion of economic politics to open up the politics of diverse urban economies. By combining activism with research, this thesis not only reveals and explores but also contributes to and strengthens some of London's emerging economic alliances at metropolitan level and in Tottenham and the London Legacy Development Corporation area, located within two of the 'Opportunity Areas' earmarked to play a special role in accommodating London's growth. The thesis finds that the global city growth model embedded in London's metropolitan governance arrangements was stretched to its limits under Boris Johnson's Mayoralty. It suggests that Johnson's use of London's low-cost workspace as a release valve for London's escalating housing crisis accelerated its extension into a workspace crisis. The thesis argues that while the growing pressure on workspace poses a threat to the diversity of London's economy, it has also mobilised small businesses, industrial firms, migrant and ethnic retailers, market traders and community enterprises and their allies to challenge and develop alternatives to plans and development proposals that ignore, marginalise or threaten to displace them. Through a collaborative action research method inspired by Gibson-Graham's work, the thesis explores the generative and unfolding process through which diverse economic actors built common ground and solidarity, shared their knowledge and experience and developed visions and propositions for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development. It reveals that the economic evidence underpinning London's metropolitan and local plans not only plays a role in supporting dominant approaches but has also become a terrain of contestation and struggle for alternatives.

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This thesis tells a story about the relationships, knowledge and possibilities that were collectively built through the process of challenging and developing alternatives to plans and development proposals in London. It has emerged through the relationships and collaborations I came to develop with the Just Space network, with the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network, and with Wards Corner Community Coalition and Our Tottenham. Their knowledge, experience and efforts have been central to this thesis, and are acknowledged and explored throughout the text itself. My thanks go to all those who participated in these groups, producing the shared knowledge and collective action on which this thesis rests.

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This thesis is dedicated to the decade-long struggle for Wards Corner and Pueblito Paisa.

## **Contents**

Abstract	3
Acknowledgements	4
List of Figures	11
List of Boxes	12
List of abbreviations	13
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>15</b>
1.1 Learning from Pueblito Paisa	15
1.2 Thesis rationale: towards city strategies and plans for diverse urban economies	17
1.3 Thesis aim: revealing London's contested economy	21
1.4 Thesis approach: policy analysis, interviews and collaborative action research	26
1.5 Overview of thesis	32
<b>2 Contested urban economies</b>	<b>39</b>
2.1 Introduction	39
2.2 Re-connecting the economy with politics	41
2.2.1 A politics of language	45
2.2.2 A politics of the subject	48
2.2.3 The contribution of a critical analysis of contested urban economies to diverse and community economies research	49
2.3 The performativity of the global/world city view	51
2.4 Representing the diversity of urban economies	57
2.5 Mobilising the political subjects of diverse urban economies	63
2.6 Conclusion	71
<b>3 London's contested global city growth model</b>	<b>73</b>
3.1 Introduction	73
3.2 Can the global city be a city for all?	74
3.3 Challenging the employment projections underpinning the London Plan	80

3.4 The shifting place of financial services in London's diverse economy in the aftermath of the global financial crisis	91
3.5 London's escalating workspace crisis mobilises diverse economic actors to enter strategic planning debates	97
3.6 Conclusion	102
<b>4 Research methods for contesting urban economies</b>	<b>105</b>
4.1 Introduction	105
4.2 Policy analysis and interviews	106
4.3 Combining activism with research	109
4.4 Getting involved in some of London's emerging economic alliances	115
4.4.1 Building a culture of collaboration between community groups, small business groups and academics through the Just Space Economy and Planning group	116
4.4.2 Supporting the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network to connect with local businesses	118
4.4.3 Joining the struggle for inclusive, community-led development in Tottenham	124
4.5 Collaborative action research for contested urban economies	133
4.5.1 Mobilising diverse economic actors	134
4.5.2 Building shared knowledge about diverse economic activities	137
4.5.3 Challenging and developing alternatives to plans and development proposals which threaten economic diversity	141
4.6 Writing a thesis from collective knowledge and action	143
<b>5 "Building on the economy we have": mobilising London's diverse economy for more inclusive economic development</b>	<b>152</b>
5.1 Introduction	152
5.2 Mobilising a London-wide alliance of diverse economic actors	154
5.3 Building shared knowledge about London's diverse economy	157
5.4 Challenging the FALP	163
5.4.1 Bringing a strategic focus on London's diverse economy	168
5.4.2 Questioning the idea of London having a 'surplus' of industrial land	173
5.4.3 Debating the future of London's town centres	178

5.4.4 Reviewing JSEP's experiences through the FALP consultation and EiP	185
5.5 Exploring alternative economic development strategies for London	188
5.6 Conclusion	191
<b>6 "Healthy growth": developing proposals for inclusive economic development around the Olympic Park</b>	<b>194</b>
6.1 Introduction	194
6.2 Mobilising businesses on the Carpenters Estate	196
6.3 Building shared knowledge about Carpenters' diverse economic assets	206
6.4 Developing alternative proposals for the "healthy growth" of the local economy	210
6.5 Challenging the emerging LLDC local plan	215
6.5.1 Mobilising diverse economic actors across the LLDC area	220
6.5.2 Developing shared knowledge about industrial displacement	223
6.5.3 Using legacy and convergence objectives to extend and advance a vision of "healthy growth" across the LLDC area	226
6.6 Conclusion	235
<b>7 Challenging displacement and working towards community-led economic development in Tottenham</b>	<b>237</b>
7.1 Introduction	237
7.2 Mobilising local traders and businesses across Tottenham	238
7.3 Building shared knowledge about Tottenham's local economy	245
7.4 Challenging the emerging Tottenham Area Action Plan	248
7.5 Working towards community-led development at Wards Corner	255
7.5.1 Describing the economic and community value of Wards Corner	257
7.5.2 Market traders and businesses mobilise in support of the community plan	264
7.5.3 Building a community development vehicle amid intensifying threats	267
7.6 Conclusion	272

<b>8 Conclusions</b>	<b>275</b>
8.1 Bringing a focus on political mobilisation to diverse and community economies research	275
8.2 Seeing London's economy from the perspective of diverse economic actors and their struggles over economic value	279
8.3 Towards a radical strategy for bringing alternative urban worlds into being: embedding critical urban research in contestation	286
8.4 Further research into contested urban economies	292
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>296</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>340</b>
1 Selected other outputs (2013 to 2016)	340
2 Methodological details	370
3 What happened next (November 2014 to August 2017)	443
<b>Insert (inside back cover)</b>	
London for all! A handbook for community and small business groups fighting to retain workspace for London's diverse economies <sup>1</sup>	

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<sup>1</sup> [https://justspacelondon.files.wordpress.com/2015/09/workspacehandbook\\_highres.pdf](https://justspacelondon.files.wordpress.com/2015/09/workspacehandbook_highres.pdf).



## List of Figures

1.1 The 'Salsa & Samba Shutdown' at Wards Corner on 8 April 2017.	15
1.2 Jobs by sector in London, 2014.	19
1.3 Map of London showing the planning context for the case studies.	27
1.4 JSEP meets to discuss affordable workspace.	28
1.5 Demonstration against UCL's proposed new campus on the Carpenters Estate.	31
2.1 The economy as an iceberg.	46
2.2 Gibson-Graham's diverse economy framing.	47
3.1 The GLA's long-run employment projections.	81
3.2 Employment by sector relative to the UK against share of London's GVA.	86
3.3 Service exports by value for the UK and other G7 nations and the US, relative to the G7 average.	87
3.4 Value of London's service exports by sector.	88
3.5 GVA per hour worked in London compared to the UK average.	90
4.1 The Carpenters Estate.	119
4.2 Wards Corner.	124
4.3 The community plan for Wards Corner.	126
4.4 Map of contestations and alternatives in Tottenham.	131
5.1 Latin American businesses at the Elephant and Castle.	160
5.2 JSEP meet to discuss the Further Alterations to the London Plan.	165
5.3 The proposed further alterations to the London Plan's town centre and industrial land policies.	167
5.4 JSEP's 'London for all' public event.	188
6.1 Map of Carpenters Estate showing the location of businesses.	197
6.2 The Carpenters Community Plan exhibition.	200
7.1 Some of the market traders and local businesses at Wards Corner and Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa.	255
7.2 Talking to market traders about the community plan.	264

## List of Boxes

4.1 WCC's tactics and activities.	127
5.1 Questions on the employment projections and understanding of business needs for debate at the FALP EiP.	168
5.2 Question on the release of 'surplus' industrial land around transport nodes.	174
5.3 Questions on the Experian retail review and the release of 'surplus' retail space in town centres.	181
6.1 Description of the Carpenters local economy.	210
6.2 Question on the impact of the Olympic Games on existing local businesses for debate at the LLDC local plan EiP.	224
6.3 Examples of negative impacts of the Olympic Games on local businesses.	225
6.4 The Newham Network's proposal for retaining existing local businesses.	227
6.5 Questions on employment land and low cost workspace policies for debate at the LLDC local plan EiP.	231
6.6 Questions on policies relating to local jobs, training and access to higher education.	233
7.1 Extract from the Our Tottenham Charter on supporting small businesses.	239
7.2 Extract from the updated Charter on supporting the local economy.	246
7.3 Economic characteristics of the Wards Corner market traders and businesses interviewed.	259

## List of abbreviations

A1	Action research archive 1
A2	Action research archive 2
A3	Action research archive 3
AAP	Area Action Plan
ABI	Annual Business Inquiry
ACV	Asset of Community Value
AM	London Assembly Member
APS	Advanced producer services
BME	Black and minority ethnic
BRES	Business Register Employment Survey
CARP!	Carpenters Against Regeneration Plans
CEC	Community Economies Collective
CERN	Community Economies Research Network
CIG	Cultural Interest Group
CPO	Compulsory Purchase Order
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
EDA	Economic Development Agenda
EDP	Economic Development Plan
EDS	Economic Development Strategy
EEB	Economic Evidence Base
EETG	East End Trades Guild
EiP	Examination in Public
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FALP	Further Alterations to the London Plan
FIRE	Finance, insurance and real estate sectors
FOI	Freedom of Information
FoQM	Friends of Queen's Market
FSB	Federation of Small Businesses
FTE	Full time equivalent
GaWC	Globalization and World Cities research group
GCNF	Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum
GCR	Global and world cities research
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GLA	Greater London Authority
GLC	Greater London Council
GVA	Gross Value Added
HRW	High Road West
HSG	Haringey Solidarity Group
IFS	International financial services
JSEP	Just Space Economy and Planning group
LBN	London Borough of Newham
LEP	London Enterprise Panel
LLDC	London Legacy Development Corporation
LTF	London Tenants Federation
LUL	London Underground Limited
MNCs	Multinational companies
NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework
OT	Our Tottenham
OTLE	Our Tottenham Local Economy working group
OTPP	Our Tottenham Planning Policy working group
PAR	Participatory action research
PD	Permitted development
PEACH	People's Empowerment Alliance for Custom House
RD	Research diary
SMEs	Small and medium sized enterprises
SPG	Supplementary Planning Guidance
SWW	Stratford Wire Works
TBG	Tottenham Business Group
TfL	Transport for London
TNCs	Transnational corporations
TR	Transcript
TTP	Tottenham Traders Partnership
UCL	University College London
WCC	Wards Corner Community Coalition
WCDG	Waterloo Community Development Group

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Learning from Pueblito Paisa



*Figure 1.1 Marta Hinestroza (Talentos Colombian dance group and Oasis Unisex Salon) performs outside Pueblito Paisa (Seven Sisters market) as part of the 'Salsa & Samba Shutdown' celebration, protest and fundraiser in defence of Wards Corner on 8 April 2017. Source: Pam Isherwood (Wards Corner Community Coalition), with permission (part-redacted in e-thesis).*

This thesis is inspired by and dedicated to the decade-long struggle for community-led development at Wards Corner. This city block at Seven Sisters in Tottenham (north east London) is the site of one of two markets which have come to play an important cultural, symbolic, social and economic role for Latin Americans in London, known as Seven Sisters market or Pueblito Paisa, after the Paisa region in Colombia where many traders come from, some of whom fled political violence and persecution (Burgos 2017, Castro nd, Latin Corner UK nd). The market and the wider city block also includes many traders and businesses providing specialist goods and services for other diverse ethnic and low-income groups. Since 2007, market traders, local businesses and residents and their supporters have campaigned against proposals from the developer, Grainger, for demolition and redevelopment at Wards Corner. Their

achievements include winning a judicial review of Haringey Council's decision to award planning permission to the first Grainger proposal, securing planning permission for an alternative community plan and mobilising large numbers of people through public meetings and demonstrations (Figure 1.1).

A chance encounter with Carlos Burgos at a community conference on the London Plan in December 2010 first alerted me to the unique economic and community value of Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa and Wards Corner. This conversation inspired me both to get involved in Wards Corner Community Coalition's (WCC's) work and to pursue a PhD at University College London (UCL), through which I hoped to both learn from and contribute to the struggle for Seven Sisters market and Wards Corner. As it turned out, I also built significant and lasting friendships and connections which continue to inspire and sustain me. Nearly seven years on, with this thesis finally written, the future of Wards Corner still hangs in the balance. At the time of writing (August 2017), an independent Planning Inspector deliberates on the evidence heard during a two-week public enquiry into Haringey Council's (2017) decision to use its Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) powers to facilitate Grainger's plan. If the CPO is rejected, the relationships, knowledge and resources built through this latest, extremely demanding stage in more than 10 years of campaigning will be powerfully re-directed towards delivering the community plan for Wards Corner.

While this thesis considers not only Wards Corner and Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa but also several other mobilisations of small businesses, industrial firms, migrant and ethnic minority retailers, market traders and community and social enterprises in London, this case powerfully communicates the issues at its heart. It illustrates a problem experienced by community and small business groups across London (JSEP 2015a), namely, that the diversity of London's economy and its importance to economic and social life is not recognised, supported or nurtured through metropolitan and local plans and development proposals. It indicates that this problem is a political one, a product not only of a failure to properly understand the existing local economy but also of the unequal power and resources of different sectors within London's economy to represent themselves and their interests in planning debates. It communicates how the threat of displacement can mobilise

a greater diversity of economic actors not only to challenge but also to develop alternatives to the plans and development proposals that ignore, marginalise or threaten them. While this thesis reveals that the diversity of London's economy is being threatened by the growing pressure on its reservoir of relatively low-cost workspace, it also offers hope that London's escalating workspace crisis will mobilise a greater diversity of economic actors to further extend and expand spaces of political debate about London's economic development.

## **1.2 Thesis rationale: towards city strategies and plans for diverse urban economies**

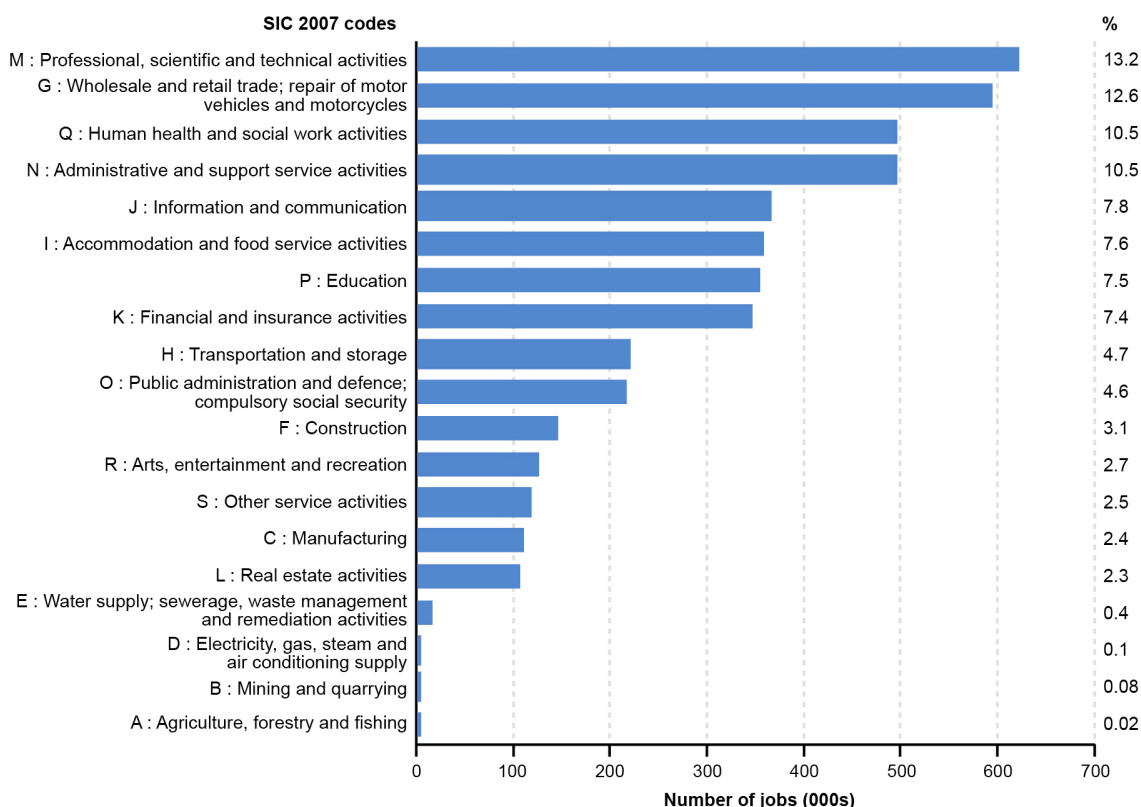
City strategies and plans tend to focus on developing specific activities, for example, financial services, high-tech or creative industries, in order to compete in the global economy (McCann 2004, Robinson 2006, Turok 2009). There is increasing evidence, however, that the benefits to firms of co-locating in cities are produced by and drawn upon by a diversity of economic actors, in particular through the interactions between firms in different sectors (Amin and Graham 1997, Duranton and Puga 2000, Jacobs 1972, Robinson 2006, Scott and Storper 2003). Urban plans and strategies which focus on developing only a sub-set of activities considered to have global importance are not only unlikely to be successful, however; they also tend not to benefit the majority of urban citizens, ignoring, marginalising or even excluding the economic activities that support urban lives and livelihoods (Robinson 2006). There is, therefore, a need for alternative approaches to urban economic development which recognise, support and nurture the diversity of urban economies.

In London, the focus of this thesis, a global/world city view emerged and was then embedded in its metropolitan government, the Greater London Authority (GLA), established in 2000 (Edwards 2001, Gordon 2003, Thornley *et al* 2002). The idea that London's ongoing success and competitiveness demanded the strategic prioritisation of its internationally-oriented financial services was developed and promoted by various business partnerships, organisations and government bodies during the 1980s and 1990s after the Greater London Council (GLC) was abolished by then Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher (Budd and Edwards 1997, Edwards 2001, Gordon 1999, Robinson

2016, Syrett 2006, Thornley *et al* 2002). In parallel, the concept of the global or world city emerged from the critical analyses of Sassen (1991) and others (e.g. Beaverstock *et al* 1999, Friedmann 1986, Friedmann and Wolff 1982) of the role of particular activities located in a small number of so-called global or world cities in commanding and controlling global capitalism (Brenner *et al* 2009, Keil 2009, Peck 2015, Robinson 2002, Smith 2013, Surborg 2011, van Meeteren *et al* 2016a). London's international financial services, advanced producer services and transnational corporation headquarters, concentrated in the City of London and the redeveloped former docklands area of Canary Wharf, have placed it at the top of the global rankings and hierarchies inspired by the global/world city view ever since (cf Globalization and World Cities Rankings 2000 and 2016).

The global/world city view of London's economy and its global city growth model have been challenged through both research and activism. Urban researchers were quick to demonstrate that the role of London's international financial services had been overstated both in global and world city research and in London's metropolitan strategies and plans (Buck *et al* 2002, Edwards 1996, Gordon 1999a and 2011a, Graham and Spence 1995, Wood and Wójcik 2010). London's economy is extremely diverse, with its largest sector – professional, scientific and technical activities – providing just 13.2 per cent of total jobs in 2014 (Business Register Employment Survey (BRES) and Annual Business Inquiry (ABI) Part 1; Figure 1.2). Just three other sectors provide more than 10 per cent of total jobs: wholesale and motor trades (12.6 per cent), human health and social work (10.5 per cent) and administrative and support services (10.5 per cent). Financial and insurance services (7.4 per cent) makes up one of four sectors providing 7-8 per cent of total jobs, the others being information and communication (7.8 per cent), accommodation and food services (7.6 per cent) and education (7.5 per cent). In total, 10 sectors each employ more than 200,000 people in London, just one of which – and far from the largest – is financial and insurance services. Studies have produced increasing evidence to suggest that the diversity and complexity of London's economy has been key to its long-term success and resilience, and should therefore form the basis of its strategies and plans (Buck *et al* 2002, Duranton and Puga 2000, Edwards 1996, Gordon 2006, Massey 2001).





*Figure 1.2 Jobs by sector in London, 2014. Source: data (BRES and ABI Part 1); chart by Miles Irving (UCL Geography Drawing Office), with permission.*

Outside the pages of academic journals, London's global city growth model has been challenged by the London-wide Just Space network, an 'informal alliance of community groups, campaigns and concerned independent organisations' (Just Space nd), through the formal consultation and Examination in Public (EiP) process required to finalise each new version of the London Plan, the Mayor of London's spatial development strategy. During the 2010 London Plan consultation and EiP, for example, the Just Space network appealed to London's status as a 'leading world city' to show leadership on how cities can transition to an equal and low-carbon economy (Just Space 2010a). The network and its members argued (amongst other things) that the GLA should consider how different sectors and activities within London's economy might contribute to a broader suite of economic, social and environmental goals (Edwards 2010a, Fell 2010a, Just Space 2009, London 21 2010, Women's Design Service 2010). Neither of these research or policy debates have had much if any impact on the London Plan at the time of writing (August 2017) although, as this thesis shows, the financial crisis and London's escalating workspace crisis triggered an increasing interest in economic diversity both inside and outside the GLA during Boris Johnson's Mayoralty (2008 to 2016).

Despite these challenges emanating from London, the archetypal global/world city, the global/world city concept has transformed into a globally influential mainstream urban development model (McCann *et al* 2013, Peck 2015, Robinson 2002 and 2006, Smith 2013, P. J. Taylor 2012, van Meeteren *et al* 2016a). Hong Kong and Singapore have been able to combine urban and national policy goals and tools to shape processes of global city formation, for example (Olds and Yeung 2004). Global city narratives have also emerged and been mobilised in other cities slightly further down global urban hierarchies, for example, St Petersburg in Russia (Golubchikov 2010) and Sydney in Australia (Baker and Ruming 2015). The global/world city view also influences city development strategies and plans in poorer cities, such as Johannesburg and Durban in South Africa, despite such cities lacking the international financial services, advanced producer services and transnational corporation headquarters with which global and world city research has been concerned (C. Marx 2006 and 2011, Parnell and Robinson 2006 and 2012, Robinson 2002 and 2006). Robinson (2006; see also Bryceson 2006, C. Marx 2006 and 2011, Turok 2013) has suggested that economic diversification may be a particularly relevant strategy for poorer cities as a means of developing internal propulsion and securing a broad economic base that can meet basic developmental needs as well as more global ambitions. In targeting the diversity of the city, rather than only its paradigmatic 'global' parts (often at the expense of others), the hope is that resources and attention will be directed towards the basic, collective infrastructure that supports diverse urban economies (Robinson 2006; see also Bryceson 2006, McCann 2004, Turok 2009). Robinson (2006) therefore suggests that bringing the diversity of urban economies back in may provide one possible starting point for more inclusive urban economic development, not only in poorer cities but also in so-called global cities.

Bringing the diversity of urban economies back into view not only offers a starting point for broader-based approaches to urban economic development but also reveals the diversity of economic actors available to contest city strategies and plans (Robinson 2006). The political role of such a diversity of economic actors in urban development processes has received little consideration by researchers thus far, however. Critical urban scholars have tended to focus on the role of elite and powerful business interests in urban

development processes (North *et al* 2001, Peck 1995, Raco 2003, Thornley *et al* 2002, Wood 2004). Until recently, little attention has been given to commercial displacement as an active process, let alone to opposition or alternatives to it (Curran 2007, Ferm and Jones 2015 and 2016, Gonzalez and Waley 2013, McLean *et al* 2015, Slater 2009, Zukin 2008, Zukin *et al* 2009). In London, with few exceptions (e.g. Hall 2015a, Raco and Tunney 2010), analysis has been limited to the role of the financial services and property development sectors in establishing a global city oriented agenda under London's first Mayor, Ken Livingstone (Gordon 2003, Massey 2007a, Thornley *et al* 2002). By comparison, in poorer cities in the global South, it is common to view street and informal traders as political actors struggling to obtain, retain and improve spaces to work and trade (Bromley 1978 and 2000, Brown *et al* 2010, Jones and Varley 1994, Mitullah 2003, Skinner 2008 and 2009). There is a need, however, to explore the political process through which city strategies and plans which recognise and respond to the diversity of urban economies might be secured in practice. This thesis therefore builds on Robinson's (2002 and 2006) work by exploring the political mobilisation of diverse economic actors in London to challenge and develop alternatives to the plans and development proposals which ignore, marginalise or threaten to displace them.

### **1.3 Thesis aim: revealing London's contested economy**

The main aim of this thesis is to develop a critical analysis of London's contested economy. There has been a tendency in critical urban research to focus on tracing the increasing power and influence of dominant approaches, making it harder to identify contestations and alternatives (Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti 2007, McGuirk 2012, Parnell and Robinson 2006). However, even where dominant economic logics may appear utterly hegemonic, light and sensitive modes of critique focused on 'difference rather than dominance' (Gibson-Graham 2008 p623) can be used to recognise and explore openings and mobilisations which are still in the process of emerging and becoming something else (see also Blomley 2007, Gibson 2001, Jacobs 2012, McGuirk 2012, Robinson 2015). While this thesis does not lose sight of the influence of the global/world city view on London's metropolitan strategies

and plans, it also aims to remain alert to and oriented towards the possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development.

This thesis achieves its aim of revealing London's contested economy through four main objectives. Firstly, it *uses urban research from the global South* to make more space to think about alternative approaches to urban economic development in London. Researchers working on cities 'off the map' (Robinson 2002 p531) of global and world city research have been particularly attuned to the inadequacies and dangers of the approaches to urban development it inspires. They have shown that redistributive and developmental goals may be present alongside global city ambitions in poorer cities (Lipietz 2008, Parnell and Robinson 2006 and 2012, Robinson 2006) and that the significant role of informality in making cities work and securing livelihoods conflicts particularly strongly with the formal logics of governing in the global South (Roy 2011a, Watson 2009). The size and presence of the informal economy has generated a significant body of research attempting to describe its contribution and functioning (e.g. Hart 2010, International Labour Office and Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organising 2013, Roy 2005 and 2011b), powerfully demonstrating the need for city strategies and plans to start from the diversity of urban economies rather than the narrow logics of dominant urban development models. As previously mentioned, informal and street traders are also commonly seen as political actors who struggle for spaces in which to work and trade and engage in broader debates about the future of urban economic development. While this literature communicates the particular challenges faced by poorer cities in the global South, it also emphasises that they represent a productive starting place from which to generate alternative ideas (Robinson 2006 and 2011, Watson 2009). In this thesis, I use this literature to reveal conflicting rationalities and openings in London's global city growth model and afford a greater diversity of economic actors a political role in its urban development processes.

Secondly, this thesis *explores the potential of the economic analyses underpinning metropolitan and local plans in London* as a site of contestation and struggle. The rankings and hierarchies inspired by the global and world city concepts have played an important role in transforming them into a globally-

influential policy prescription, providing cities with a ladder to climb and examples to emulate in pursuit of global success (Robinson 2002 and 2006, Smith 2013, P. J. Taylor 2012). Global and world city rankings have therefore become performative, that is, they play a role in bringing into being the world they describe (McCann *et al* 2013, Peck 2015, Robinson 2006 and 2016, van Meeteren *et al* 2016a). As Christophers has suggested in relation to viability models and the creative city concept (2014), this focus on the role of the global/world city view in shaping urban economies could be further extended through dialogue with the growing literature on economic performativity, which brings a focus on the calculative and technical work of constructing the models themselves (Barnes 2008, Callon 1998, MacKenzie *et al* 2007). In London, however, the economic evidence underpinning metropolitan and local plans not only plays a role in bringing its evolving global city growth model into being; it has also become a focus of lively political debate about how to think about London's economy and its future development. This thesis therefore uses the notion of economic performativity both to explore the performativity of dominant economic models and to reveal new terrains of contestation and struggle.

Thirdly, this thesis *examines how alternative, more inclusive approaches to economic development in London can emerge* from the mobilisation of diverse economic actors. Gibson-Graham's<sup>2</sup> analysis of the economic politics of language, the subject and collective action offers insights into the interconnected processes of developing new economic language, becoming new economic subjects and unearthing new possibilities for local economic development (2005, 2006a [1996], 2006b and 2008; Cameron and Gibson 2005a and 2005b). Her language of the diverse economy makes space within the notion of the economy for the diversity of ways of organising economic activity that sustain livelihoods (Cameron and Gibson-Graham 2003, Gibson-Graham 2006a). This language of economic difference is intended to prevent capitalism from defining the realm of the economy, dislodging the grip of such 'capitalocentric' economic discourse on our political imaginations, and beginning a process of relating differently to the economy or, in other words, becoming

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<sup>2</sup> J.K.Gibson-Graham is the 'single writing persona' used by Julie Graham and Katherine Gibson in several collective projects (Larner 2011 p173). In this thesis, I refer to Gibson-Graham in the singular throughout.

different economic subjects. Simply put, we are all economic actors whose diverse activities collectively make the economy, whether through paid or unpaid work, formally or informally organised/regulated labour, gifts, barter or market transactions. The economy is a space of political decision-making; we make it together and can re-make it otherwise. From this starting point, new possibilities for local economic development emerge which recognise and respond to the knowledge and skills as well as the needs of local actors (Cameron and Gibson 2005b, Gibson-Graham 2005). While a number of urban researchers have referred to Gibson-Graham's work (e.g. Derickson 2015, C. Marx 2006 and 2011, McLean 2014), it has not yet been significantly taken up within urban studies. In this thesis, I use Gibson-Graham's economic politics to explore how diverse economic actors developed new, shared knowledge of diverse economic activities, built common ground and solidarity and developed visions and propositions for more inclusive alternatives to plans and development proposals which ignored, marginalised or threatened to displace them.

Relatedly, this thesis also makes a number of secondary contributions to the growing field of diverse/community economies research inspired by Gibson-Graham's work. This field has focussed so far on specific alternative economic experiments and small-scale Participatory Action Research (PAR) projects to re-imagine local economies in areas abandoned or ignored by modern global capitalism, such as the formerly strong coal mining region of the Latrobe Valley near Melbourne, Australia, or the poor fishing settlements in the Jagna Municipality, Philippines (Cameron and Gibson 2005a and 2005b, Gibson-Graham 2005 and 2006b). In using Gibson-Graham's work to open up alternative approaches to economic development in London, this thesis responds to the call for diverse/community economies research to explore a range of different starting points and scales (Gibson-Graham 2006a, Jonas 2013, Kelly 2005). In focusing on the mobilisation of diverse economic actors in response to plans and development proposals which ignore, marginalise and threaten them, this thesis also provides an opportunity to consider how alternatives might be secured through conflict and struggle with dominant approaches, little explored within diverse and community economies research thus far (Frenzel and Beverungen 2015, Gibson-Graham 2006a, Gritzas and

Kavoulakos 2016, Jonas 2013). This thesis also represents an opportunity to explore the little-researched contribution of diverse mainstream capitalist economic actors to the emergence and development of alternatives (Gibson-Graham 2006a, North 2016).

Finally, this thesis *develops a collaborative action research method for researching contested urban economies*. Collaborative and activist research methods offer not only the possibility of more mutually-beneficial research relationships but also open up a range of contributions which extend across traditional boundaries between researcher and researched (Benson and Nagar 2006, Fuller 1999, Katz 1994, Oldfield 2015, Routledge 1996). By negotiating the displacements and disruptions involved in combining multiple individual activist and academic positionalities, scholar-activists can arrive at a 'third space' from which to write, think and do, where critical thought is embedded in solidarity with the struggles of communities and activists and oriented towards action (Cahill 2007, Fuller 1999, Katz 1994, Lyons 2014, Routledge 1996, M. Taylor 2014). In more collective approaches, the academic plays one part amongst many in the production of collective knowledge and action (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010, Gibson-Graham 2006a, Harney *et al* 2016, Wills 2012 and 2014, Zusman 2004). While individual and collective approaches to research are often counterposed, in this thesis I used both approaches to build opportunities for collaborative action research, making use of different academic, activist and academic-activist positionalities in different ways with each of the groups I worked with and at different phases of the research process.

By collaborative action research, I mean research which is done in collaboration with community or activist groups, which recognises the legitimacy and authorship of collaborators' knowledge and labour and which is embedded in and oriented towards their ongoing goals and aims (e.g. Benson and Nagar 2006, Cahill 2007, Kerr 2003, Kruzynski 2006, McLean *et al* 2015, Oldfield 2015). Collaborative action research offers a method for building new knowledges and possibilities for action with others which circulate and proliferate through the new relationships and networks created through the research process (Benson and Nagar 2006, McLean *et al* 2015, Oldfield 2015).

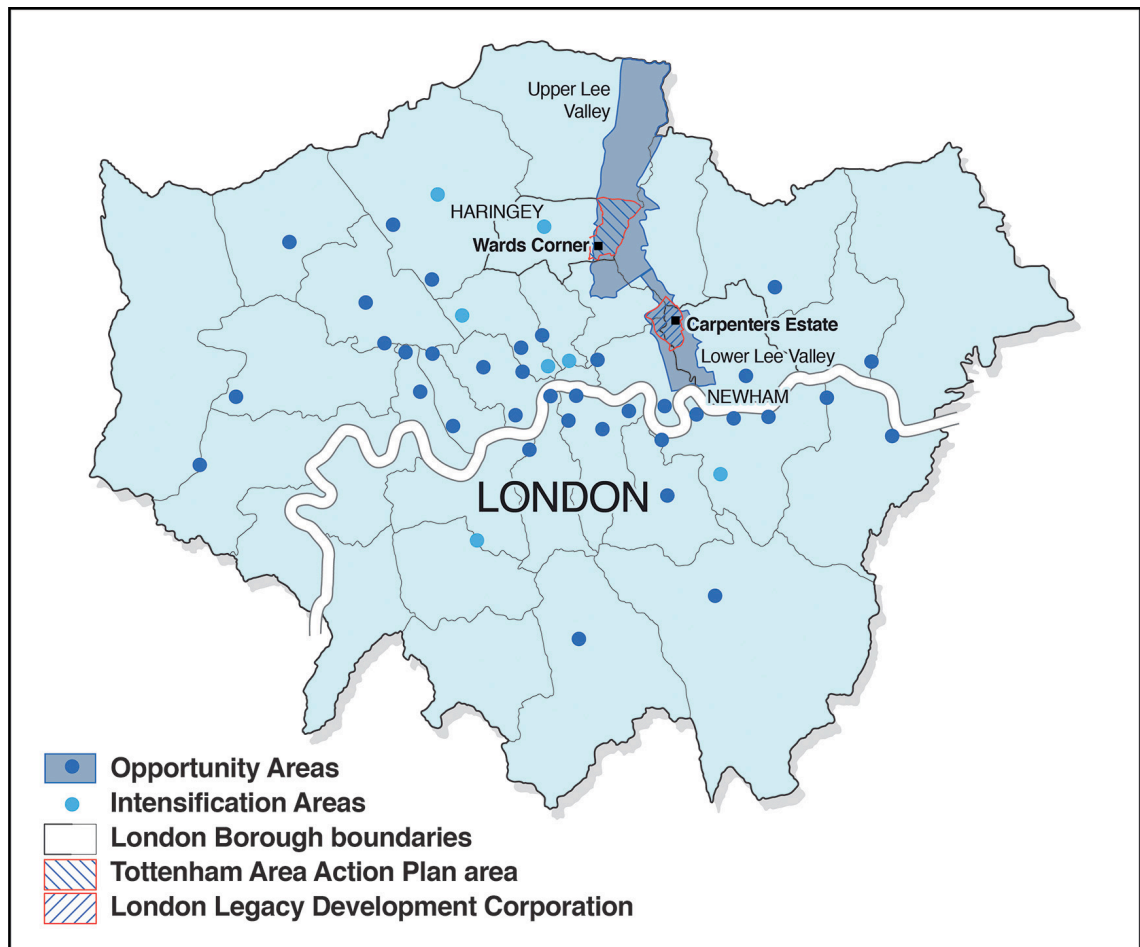
There have been increasing calls for the use of collaborative and action-oriented research methods in order to open up diverse alternatives to the dominant modes of critical analysis in urban studies, in particular the critical analysis of capitalism (including critical global and world cities research) and neoliberalism (Derickson 2015, Ehrkamp 2011, Jazeel and McFarlane 2010, Oldfield 2015, Peake 2016, Russell *et al* 2011, Sheppard *et al* 2013). Building on Gibson-Graham's work, the collaborative action research method I developed involved mobilising diverse economic actors, building shared knowledge about the diversity of London's economy and putting new economic subjectivities and knowledge into action to challenge and develop alternatives to plans and development proposals which ignored, marginalised or threatened them.

#### **1.4 Thesis approach: policy analysis, interviews and collaborative action research**

In this thesis, I read London's global city growth model for 'difference rather than dominance' (Gibson-Graham 2008 p623) by analysing policy documents, interviewing policy makers and undertaking collaborative action research with emerging mobilisations of diverse economic actors in London. Policy analysis and interviews and collaborative action research projects were undertaken at the metropolitan level and in the two localities marked in Figure 1.3, the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) area (including the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, straddling the east London boroughs of Newham, Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest) and Tottenham (in the north east London borough of Haringey). In total, I analysed around 100 policy documents, carried out 32 interviews with politicians, public officials, business leaders and others involved in shaping plans and strategies at the GLA, LLDC and Haringey Council, and collaborated with five groups. I kept an 'action research archive' and research diary to record my research and activism, recorded and transcribed 13 meetings/events and carried out 25 action-oriented interviews with local traders and businesses. This combination of policy analysis, interviews and collaborative action research allowed me to reveal, explore and contribute to emerging mobilisations of diverse economic actors in response to plans and development proposals which ignored, marginalised or threatened to



displace them, while also remaining alert to the co-presence of conflicting rationalities within the GLA, LLDC and Haringey Council.



*Figure 1.3 Map of London showing the Upper and Lower Lee Valley Opportunity Areas, the Tottenham Area Action Plan area and the London Legacy Development Corporation territory, and Wards Corner and the Carpenters Estate. Source: Miles Irving (UCL Geography Drawing Office), with permission.*

My thesis focusses in particular on metropolitan and local plans because the sphere of planning offers particular opportunities for direct citizen participation which go beyond those in other policy areas such as regeneration and economic development (Edwards 2001 and 2010b). Metropolitan and local plans are required to undergo an Examination in Public in addition to the more usual consultation process; this involves public hearings before an independent Planning Inspector. Over the years, these opportunities have motivated increasing numbers of grassroots, community, voluntary, independent and business groups and organisations to participate in the EiP process, mobilising metropolitan, borough and local networking and a host of other campaigns, projects and initiatives beyond the EiP through an alliance which became the

Just Space network (Brown *et al* 2014, Lipietz *et al* 2014). Just Space has been particularly successful in mobilising participation in the London Plan process on equalities, regeneration, housing and environmental issues (Brown *et al* 2014). While participation on detailed economic issues has been more limited, as I became more involved in the Just Space network, I also became aware of its efforts to contest London's global city growth model. Just Space members had been able to open up a debate about alternative economic development strategies by challenging the employment projections underpinning the London Plan because of the requirement placed on Planning Inspectors to test the evidence base as part of the EiP process (DCLG 2012). While Just Space's efforts were not successful, its experiences motivated the network to proactively develop its engagement with economic issues, leading to the formation of a dedicated Economy and Planning group in July 2013 (Figure 1.4). As the thesis demonstrates, this requirement to test the economic evidence underpinning metropolitan and local plans has opened up a space of contestation and struggle which has been exploited by and has in turn influenced emerging mobilisations of diverse economic actors in London.



*Figure 1.4 JSEP meets to discuss affordable workspace at Bootstrap Co. in Dalston (east London) on 27 January 2014. Source: the author.*

As I began to explore London's contested global city growth model, it made sense to supplement my main, metropolitan-level case study with two additional case studies located within Opportunity Areas. My metropolitan-level policy analysis and interviews suggested that London's global city growth model was being stretched to new limits under Boris Johnson's Mayoralty (2008 to 2016). Firstly, a combination of Johnson's weaker housing targets, withdrawal of public funding under austerity and the reduction in funding extracted from private development had largely ended the major public gain that Livingstone hoped his support for and partnership with the financial services industry and property developers would deliver (Livingstone in Massey 2007a; see also Gordon 2003, Thornley *et al* 2002). Secondly, the financial crisis prompted increasing awareness and interest in the diversity of London's economy and the potential for diversification strategies within the GLA's Economic and Business Policy and Regeneration units, the business-led London Enterprise Panel (LEP) and the financial services sector. Then, new 'permitted development' flexibilities to convert commercial to residential space introduced by the national government (DCLG 2011) placed new pressure on London's reservoir of relatively low-cost workspace. In parallel, higher than anticipated population growth figures prompted new rounds of policy development and debate about whether and how London could continue to accommodate its own growth (Mayor of London 2013a, 2014a and 2014b). Boris Johnson introduced Further Alterations to the London Plan (FALP) in order to deliver more housing in the short-term, including by encouraging the redevelopment of well-located 'surplus' industrial land and retail space for high-density housing (Mayor of London 2014a). These proposals were approved by the independent Planning Inspector despite his serious concerns about the implications for existing communities of intensifying development – but on the basis that a full review of the London Plan immediately be initiated (The Planning Inspectorate 2014). In the meantime, however, Johnson's use of London's low-cost workspace as a release valve for London's escalating housing crisis accelerated its extension into a workspace crisis.

Tottenham and the LLDC lie within the Upper and Lower Lee Valley (Figure 1.3), two of the 38 Opportunity Areas identified in the London Plan as primary areas for the delivery of new homes and commercial workspace to

accommodate London's growth (Mayor of London 2016). The policy analysis and interviews I undertook in the LLDC area and in Tottenham revealed that these growth ambitions have placed particular pressure on existing workspace. In addition, both the LLDC and Tottenham received dedicated attention, resources and – in the case of the LLDC - new governance arrangements through the 2012 Olympic Games and in response to the riots of summer 2011 originating in Tottenham. In both cases, therefore, aims for economic growth and development became intermingled in different ways with aims for inclusion and improvements for historically deprived and marginalised communities. The result was particular articulations of London's global city growth model, offering a differentiated landscape for contestations and alternatives to emerge. In each case, I explore conflicts over emerging local plans (the LLDC local plan and the Tottenham Area Action Plan) and over specific development sites (the Carpenters Estate and Wards Corner).

At the metropolitan scale, I collaborated with the Just Space network to develop a dedicated Economy and Planning group (JSEP) with the overall aim of increasing involvement of diverse economic actors in the London Plan consultation and EiP process. The opportunity for this collaboration emerged from the long-term engagement between Just Space and University College London, in particular the work of Michael Edwards (founding member of the Just Space network through the then-active Kings Cross Railway Lands Group as well as a UCL planning academic). In the LLDC area, I supported the Carpenters Community Plan group to involve local businesses in developing the local economy proposals for their community plan for the Carpenters Estate and went on to mobilise businesses to engage with the development of the LLDC's first local plan through the 'Newham Network'. In this case, my involvement emerged from student campaigns against UCL's then plans for a new campus on the site of the Carpenters Estate (UCL 2011a and 2012a, Figure 1.5). Finally, in the case of Tottenham, where I am also a local resident, I joined WCC and the Our Tottenham community planning and regeneration network (OT), which formed to connect groups and communities affected by Haringey Council's Plan for Tottenham (Haringey Council 2012, Haringey Solidarity Group 2012, OT 2013a and 2013b). From my role as an activist within WCC and OT, opportunities for collaborative action research gradually emerged. I became the



*Figure 1.5 Preparations for the demonstration against UCL's proposed new campus on the Carpenters Estate in the Front Quad, 28 November 2012. Source: the author.*

'rep' for the Local Economy working group (OTLE) and carried out a series of action-oriented interviews with market traders and local businesses at Wards Corner which produced new knowledge and resources for delivering the community plan. While my involvement and activism stretched back to January 2012 (in the case of Just Space) and forward to the time of writing (in the case of WCC), the specific collaborative action research projects I developed all took place between January 2013 and October 2014.

In the process of working through the demands and tensions involved in combining activism with research with five different networks and groups, I developed a collaborative action research method for contesting urban economies. This method used Gibson-Graham's work (2005 and 2008; Cameron and Gibson 2005a and 2005b) as a tool to draw out the interconnected processes of becoming new economic subjects, generating new economic language and exploring new possibilities for collective action. The first element involved mobilising diverse economic actors by identifying groups and individuals ignored, marginalised or threatened by plans and development



proposals and attempting to draw them into the meetings and events I was organising. Through these activities, alliances between residents and businesses were gradually built and sustained as common ground was established and mutual support and solidarity generated. The second element involved drawing together the experience and knowledge shared in meetings and events in order to articulate the role and contribution of ignored/threatened diverse economic activities, opening up new understandings of possibilities for alternative, more inclusive economic development. In the case of the Carpenters Community Plan group and WCC, I also conducted action-oriented interviews with local businesses. The third element involved working with groups to put these relationships and knowledge into action to challenge and/or develop more inclusive alternatives to the plans or development proposals they encountered. I developed new approaches to data analysis and writing practices in order to produce an individual thesis from collective knowledge and action, including retaining the links between data and the broader processes which produced them and including multiple voices and extracts from shared documents in my own text – in particular the consultation responses, community plan and workspace handbook which are appended to this thesis (Appendix 1 and Insert). Not only the method but also the analytical and writing process which I have developed, is a fundamental part of the argument of this thesis.

## **1.5 Overview of thesis**

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 brings the politics of diverse urban economies into view, providing the theoretical foundations for the thesis. It begins with an introduction to the notion of the performativity of economics (Barnes 2008, Callon 1998, Christophers 2014, MacKenzie *et al* 2007) and how it has been used by Gibson-Graham (2005, 2006a, 2006b and 2008) to open up space to think and act beyond capitalism. I use these resources to develop a critical analysis of contested urban economies focused on the possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development. I argue that the radical potential of economic performativity suggests that not only does the global/world city view play a role in bringing global/world cities into being (McCann *et al* 2013, Robinson 2002 and 2006, van Meeteren *et al* 2016a), it is also a site of conflict and struggle for alternative approaches to urban economic

development. Chapter 2 contributes to this struggle firstly by gathering evidence and analyses which bring the diversity of urban economies into view, challenging the narrow focus of the global/world city view (e.g. Amin and Graham 1997, Buck *et al* 2002, Duranton and Puga 2000). With the diversity of urban economies in mind, I assemble research which affords industrial firms (e.g. Raco and Tunney 2010), migrant and ethnic minority retailers (e.g. Hall 2015a, Sutton 2010), market traders (e.g. Gonzalez and Dawson 2015) and street and informal traders (e.g. Devlin 2011, Skinner 2008 and 2009) a political role in urban development processes. Drawing on this literature, I suggest that the threat of commercial displacement has the potential to mobilise residents and businesses struggling for inclusion to form alliances, opening up new spaces of political decision-making from which alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development may emerge. In these ways, Chapter 2 develops the concept of contested urban economies, inserting conflict and struggle into ways of thinking about urban economies and bringing diverse economic actors into accounts of urban development processes and their politics.

I use these theoretical resources as tools to reveal and explore previously hidden conflicts and contestations over London's evolving global city growth model in Chapter 3, extending existing academic literature through new policy analysis and interviews. I highlight that the idea of Ken Livingstone, London's first Mayor, that the strategic prioritisation of London's global city functions could be of benefit to all Londoners (Gordon 2003, Livingstone in Massey 2007a, Thornley *et al* 2002), was strongly challenged from the start. I draw attention in particular to the formal EiP process required to finalise each new version of the London Plan, providing possibilities for direct, democratic citizen participation which exceed those in other spheres of public policy (Brown *et al* 2014, Edwards 2001 and 2010b, Lipietz *et al* 2014). I use the notion of economic performativity to explore the role of the GLA's internal economic analysis unit, GLA Economics' (2010a and 2010b), employment projections and urban economic growth model in bringing London's global city growth model into being - but also as a site of struggle for more inclusive alternatives. I highlight the achievements of the Just Space network in opening up political debate on alternative economic growth scenarios by challenging the GLA's

employment projections in the 2010 London Plan EIP. While understanding about the role and importance of economic diversity to London's long-term success and resilience increased in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, including within the GLA itself, I argue that the power of the financial services industry and the constraints of GLA Economics' urban economic growth model have severely limited the possibilities for more radical economic diversification strategies. More hopefully, however, I present evidence to suggest that London's escalating workspace crisis (Ferm 2014a, Ferm and Jones 2015 and 2016) has begun to mobilise a range of economic actors, in particular small businesses, to enter strategic planning debates previously dominated by the financial services sector and property development industry. Chapter 3 therefore provides an account of London's contested economy, identifying conflicts over London's evolving global city growth model which I then extend and expand further through the rest of the thesis.

Chapter 4 describes the methods I developed and employed in order to open up possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development in London. It starts by setting out the policy analysis and interviews I undertook to identify the conflicts explored in this thesis, both London-wide and in the LLDC area and Tottenham within the Lower and Upper Lee Valley Opportunity Areas. It explains how I sought to contribute to these struggles, as well as to reveal and learn from them, building opportunities for collaborative action research through both individual and collective approaches to combining activism with research (e.g. Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010, Benson and Nagar 2006, Fuller 1999, Oldfield 2015, Routledge 1996, Wills 2012 and 2014). I provide an introduction to the groups with which I worked and explain how I arrived at a collaborative action research method for contested urban economies by working through the difficulties I encountered in combining activism with research. Finally, Chapter 4 describes how I extracted and analysed data and wrote this individual thesis from collective knowledge and action, gradually coming to recognise the achievements of London's emerging economic alliances in the face of multiple and intensifying threats and very minimal resources, as well their fragile and sometimes conflicted nature.



In Chapter 5, I explore how JSEP mobilised a London-wide network of diverse economic actors, built shared knowledge of London's diverse economy, challenged the proposed Further Alterations to the London Plan (FALP) and developed propositions for an alternative approach to planning based on 'the economy we have'. During its first 15 months, from July 2013 to October 2014, JSEP was profoundly influenced by the FALP consultation and EiP process. The threat posed by the FALP's policies played an important role in mobilising diverse economic actors into a London-wide network, enabling JSEP to build up a strategic narrative about the threat to small businesses, industrial firms, migrant and ethnic minority retailers, market traders and community and social enterprises. JSEP succeeded in bringing the diversity of London's economy into the EiP process, supporting 16 representatives of community and small business groups to participate in the public hearings on economic issues in September 2014. JSEP members began to demonstrate the difference between the real estate perspective, which tends to dominate the GLA's view of London's economy for the purposes of the London Plan, and the perspectives of workspace users, challenging the idea that London had a 'surplus' of industrial land and that middle-sized town centres were not 'vital and viable'. While JSEP's efforts to challenge the FALP and open up debate on London's economy were largely unsuccessful, participants went on to apply the knowledge, relationships and purpose built through the FALP EiP to a range of other activities. In July 2014, JSEP held a public event on alternative economic development strategies for London, during which participants populated the idea of London's economy with their own knowledge and experience, creating a temporary space in which London's economic growth was a matter for political decision-making rather than a zone of technical forecasting.

Chapter 6 then turns to the LLDC, examining how the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network mobilised diverse economic actors, developed new shared knowledge of the local economy and challenged and developed alternatives to UCL's proposed new campus and the emerging LLDC local plan. The clear and pressing threat of a new UCL campus on the site mobilised businesses to participate in the Carpenters Community Plan group, both on an individual basis through the sustained support which I provided and through collective discussions and activities. Action-oriented

interviews proved to be effective in extracting information about the local economy and producing and testing out ideas for local economic development which were further refined through community planning workshops and consultations. I suggest, however, that this mix of collective and individual involvement also meant that areas of potential ambiguity or disagreement were not fully explored at the time, for example, over the community plan's vision of 'healthy growth' or the idea of a Carpenters business forum. Business involvement decreased after UCL withdrew its proposal and residents focused on resolving long-running conflicts in order to create a single neighbourhood forum, the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum. In parallel, the Newham Network (in which some Carpenters residents and businesses participated) began to explore the scope to influence the emerging LLDC local plan. Drawing together their knowledge and experience, Newham Network participants challenged the narratives of inevitable industrial decline that underpinned the plan, presenting evidence of displacement, disruption and disadvantage to local businesses through the Olympic Games. I suggest that the very existence of the LLDC's legacy and convergence goals motivated the Newham Network to develop propositions for a more inclusive approach based on retaining industrial and low-cost workspace, strong targets for local jobs, training and education and encouraging local supply chains. While Newham Network participants had limited impact on the local plan, by participating in the temporary space of the EiP they began to give voice and presence to the diverse strengths of the local economy. In this case, however, the time-limited nature and specific focus of the Newham Network meant that the relationships, knowledge and ideas generated through the consultation and EiP process were not put into action elsewhere.

Chapter 7 shifts the focus to Tottenham and the efforts of OTLE and WCC to mobilise local traders and businesses, develop shared knowledge of the local economy, challenge the emerging Tottenham Area Action Plan and work towards delivering the community plan for Wards Corner. I describe how Haringey's higher targets for new homes and jobs, introduced through the FALP, further increased the pressure introduced by the post-riots 'Plan for Tottenham' (Haringey Council 2012) to achieve a total transformation in Tottenham's economy. These plans played an important role in motivating the formation of the Our Tottenham network and, as they evolved into an emerging

statutory planning framework, provided a focus for OTLE's subsequent discussions and activities. While OTLE sought to challenge the dominance of the Major Landowners and Businesses group in shaping and delivering these plans, it remained too small and poorly resourced to do so in practice. Nonetheless, I argue that it played an important role in enabling traders threatened by the High Road West development scheme (linked to the new Tottenham Hotspur stadium) as well as the Tottenham Traders Partnership to build connections and solidarity with WCC and other residents and community groups. Through regular discussions, OTLE built a shared, broad understanding of the local economy encompassing different forms of enterprise as well as community facilities and public services. It made propositions for more inclusive economic development, including growing social and community enterprises, retaining industrial land for repair and recycling activities and developing a horticulture college. Focussing on the community plan for Wards Corner, I explore how action-oriented interviews not only produced new representations of its economic and community value but also mobilised support from a wide range of groups and interests. The community plan was awarded planning permission in April 2014, mobilising increasing numbers of traders and small businesses to actively participate in the Coalition's meetings and events. While, by October 2014, some progress had been made in working towards a single community development vehicle, I suggest that the ongoing, intensifying and multiplying threats from the Grainger demolition and redevelopment plans, together with a lack of capacity and resources, continued to frustrate the efforts of residents, market traders and businesses. Looking back at this period from the time of writing, however, it is possible to see that continuing to resist the Grainger development has produced resources, capacity, networks, support and solidarity which will be powerfully re-oriented towards delivering the community plan if the long campaign is, finally, successful.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis. It highlights the main contributions of this research into London's contested economy, draws out its implications for planning policy for economic diversity, critically reflects on the methods used in this thesis and outlines ideas for future research into contested urban economies. The various contributions of this thesis to urban studies arise from its central innovation in using the notion of economic performativity and the

work of Gibson-Graham to focus on the politics of diverse urban economies, representing a significant development in the use of this work within urban studies and, in turn, making a number of secondary preliminary contributions to diverse/community economies research. London's economy emerges from the thesis as a space of contestation and struggle, revealing and exploring previously hidden and new and emerging terrains and modes of political mobilisation in a critical analysis which moves beyond tracing the increasing power and influence of dominant approaches (Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti 2007, McGuirk 2012, Parnell and Robinson 2012). In developing, putting to work and critically reflecting on a new collaborative action research method for researching contested urban economies, this thesis also makes a significant methodological contribution to urban studies, responding to calls for increasing use of collaborative approaches (Ehrkamp 2011, Jazeel and McFarlane 2010, Oldfield 2015, Peake 2016, Russell *et al* 2011, Sheppard *et al* 2013). In the conclusion to the thesis, I reflect on the need to build collective agency and resources and long-term dialogue and partnership, both in order to secure the sustainability of specific collaborative action research projects and to provide a perspective on ongoing urban development processes which will continue to develop and unfold long after any specific project or initiative. Finally, I outline a number of areas for further research on London and other contested urban economies.

My analysis of London's contested economy therefore considerably expands and extends existing urban research into the position of businesses in urban development processes (Gordon 2003, Massey 2007a, Thornley *et al* 2002), moving from a concern with representing to mobilising London's diverse economy (Buck *et al* 2002, Duranton and Puga 2000, Gordon 2006, Massey 2001). This thesis also provides further support for the idea that London's metropolitan and local strategies and plans should be based on an understanding of London's diverse economy (Buck *et al* 2002, Edwards 2010a, Gordon 2006, Just Space 2009, Massey 2001) and makes a number of suggestions for how that understanding could be improved, how the present threat to economic diversity could be addressed and how more inclusive approaches to urban economic development might be secured.

## 2 Contested urban economies

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter brings the politics of diverse urban economies into view in order to open up possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development. It argues that the transformation of the global/world city concept into a mainstream urban development model raises fundamental questions about the performativity and politics of urban knowledge. This concept has its roots in Friedmann and Wolff's (1982) and Sassen's (1991) suggestion that 'global' or 'world cities' play an important role in 'commanding and controlling' global capitalism. These and subsequent global and world cities researchers brought a critical focus on the role of international financial services, advanced producer services and transnational corporation headquarters in shaping 'globalised capitalist urbanization and its uneven consequences' (van Meeteren *et al* 2016a p252). While global and world city research (GCR) has therefore only concerned itself with specific aspects of urban economies, its central concepts of the global and world city suggest a much broader view and relevance. Cities are defined as global or world cities on the basis of a very specific set of located activities that might more accurately have been labelled 'new industrial districts of transnational management and control' (Robinson 2002 p536). The 'synecdoche' of the global/world city view has played a significant role in transforming a concept that began life as critical urbanism into a globally-influential mainstream urban development model which neglects and threatens the diversity of economic activities that support urban lives and livelihoods (Robinson 2002, 2006 and 2016).

Critical urban researchers seeking to challenge global/world city approaches to urban economic development should, however, be wary of producing accounts which repeat and reinforce their dominance. There is a tendency in critical urban scholarship to look for (and therefore to find) only the increasing power and dominance of the global/world city approach (Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti 2007, McGuirk 2012, Parnell and Robinson 2012). Despite their critical intentions, the performativity of urban knowledge suggests that such analyses play a role in making it harder to identify, explore

and develop alternative approaches. While this chapter does not lose sight of the power and influence of the global/world city view, it is therefore also alert to and oriented towards the possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development. This orientation demands modest, light and sensitive modes of critique focussed on 'difference rather than dominance', capable of recognising and exploring openings and possibilities which are still in the process of emerging and becoming something else (Gibson-Graham 2008 p623; see also Jacobs 2012, McGuirk 2012, Robinson 2015). If the performativity of urban knowledge demands that researchers take care of and responsibility for the work their own analyses do, it also opens up an active role for all research in bringing into being the world it describes. In this chapter, therefore, I provide critical analyses of urban economies that make it easier to identify and imagine possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development.

The central innovation of this chapter is to bring a focus on the politics of diverse urban economies or, in other words, *contested urban economies*. It uses the notion of economic performativity and Gibson-Graham's (2006a and 2006b) economic politics of language and the subject – introduced in Section 2.2 - to re-connect the economy with politics in urban studies. In Section 2.3, I argue that, if the global/world city view plays a role in bringing global/world cities into being, the radical potential of economic performativity suggests it is also a site of conflict and struggle for alternative approaches to urban economic development. In Section 2.4, I then draw together performative resources for challenging the global/world city view by representing the diversity of urban economies.

Representing the diversity of urban economies opens up alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development based on recognising, supporting and nurturing this economic diversity. From this perspective, the mobilisation of elite and powerful business interests that has been the focus of much critical urban research so far can more clearly be seen as representative of just one part of a diverse urban economy, rather than the whole. In Section 2.5, I therefore bring together research which explores instances in which industrial firms, black and minority ethnic (BME) owned

firms, market traders and street and informal traders have challenged and developed alternatives to plans and development proposals which threaten to displace them. In assembling this literature, it becomes possible to explore how residents and firms might be drawn into alliances and coalitions with one another in order to build the 'relations of interdependence' (Gibson-Graham 2008 p627) on which a more inclusive approach to urban economic development will ultimately rely.

## **2.2 Re-connecting the economy with politics**

Poststructuralist approaches to the economy are relevant to this thesis because they re-connect the economy with politics. The economy, as it is widely discussed today, is understood as an object which can be separated from the rest of social life, seen as the domain of expert economists and technocrats who have more in common with physical or natural scientists than social scientists. Yet, as science and technology studies and economic anthropology, sociology and history have shown, this idea is a relatively recent construct, marked out by the emergence of the discipline of economics over the last 200 years (Galbraith 1987, Mitchell 2002, Rist 2011, Slater and Tonkiss 2001). While Adam Smith is often considered the founding father of today's economic theories of the market, his concerns extended beyond what would today be considered 'the economic'. He and other classical political economists were concerned 'not with the politics of an economy, but with the proper economy, or governing, of a polity' (Mitchell 2002 p4). Yet as others - notably Ricardo - developed Smith's ideas, they became more concerned with the technical order of the market than its relations with society (Slater and Tonkiss 2001 p45). Ricardo's 'scientific' analysis of the market informed the development of 'marginal utility theory' in the late nineteenth century and the neoclassical economics of much of the twentieth century (*ibid*). Through the 'marginalist revolution', the discipline of economics became increasingly formalist and mathematical, marking out the market as *the* sphere of economic allocation and regulation, and modelling man as a human 'calculating machine' – *homo economicus* – who made rational choices in order to maximise his own individual 'utility'. Economics and economists thus disengaged from the questions of social and moral order that had exercised earlier political

economists, focusing instead on models of calculating rational behaviour that could then be empirically proven or refuted. Economics, then, 'depicted the rationality of social life in ideal form, proposing to understand particular cases in terms of their degree of deviation from this unreal abstraction' (Mitchell 2002 p1). As Slater and Tonkiss write, '[t]his methodological standpoint has been crucial to the formation of modern economics as a distinct social science discipline, particularly in its leanings to mathematization, modelling and prediction' (2001 p61).

Economic sociology and anthropology demonstrate that the economy is embedded in society and culture, despite the claims of neoclassical economists to define a realm of pure and abstract market rationality. Shopping, for example, is entwined with identity and social relations in ways which 'cannot be reduced to the transaction' (Gregson *et al* 2002 p615; see also Crewe 2000, Holbrock and Jackson 1996). However, while sociology and anthropology both question the 'autonomy' of the economy, tension arises 'along the disciplinary boundaries' as they struggle to do so without simply replacing the autonomy of the economy with the autonomy of society (Slater and Tonkiss 2001 p93). These contradictions arise inherently from the disciplinary division of labour. As Lee writes, 'the present separation and apparent autonomy of the economic reflects the power of disciplinary thinking rather than the nature of ordinary, everyday social practice ... the economic is more complex than disciplinary thinking allows' (2006 pp413-4).

Poststructuralist approaches offer an alternative to social science attempts to arrive at a true (or more true) representation of the economy than the narrow perspectives of the economy pursued by economics. A poststructuralist approach recognises language as having an active role in making the social world rather than merely describing it. This understanding of language implies that all knowledge is partial, subjective and performative (playing a role in bringing the world it describes into being). Incorporating poststructuralist perspectives into research therefore involves abandoning the presumption that any researcher or research method can objectively and neutrally observe the social world, as if from the outside, and starting instead with 'the view that social research is an explicitly political intervention that not



only represents, but constitutes, reality' (Cameron and Gibson 2005a p316; see also Wills 2012 and 2014).

A poststructuralist approach to the economy attributes to economic language, models and metrics an active role in bringing the economy into being in its own image, that is to say, economics is 'performative' (Barnes 2008, Callon 1998, Christophers 2014, MacKenzie *et al* 2007). For example, Christophers (2011) has traced how the financial sector only appeared as a positive (rather than negative or neutral) entry in national accounts as a result of debates amongst statisticians over time. He has also used the concept of economic performativity to explain how developers' models of the viability of affordable housing provision in new developments have gradually come to shape housing delivery in the UK in their own image (Christophers 2014). Likewise, Fioramonti's (2013) history of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) shows how it was developed for particular political purposes, changing over time as it served different uses. This perspective makes it impossible to continue to hold the economy as a domain apart from society, culture and politics; the language, models and metrics we use to talk about the economy have implications for the rest of social life.

Some scholars have criticised studies which explore the performativity of the economy and markets for being complicit with the reductionism of neo-classical economics (e.g. Fine 2005, Miller 2002). The radical potential of performativity, however, lies in its invitation to critical scholars to move away from analyses which in fact perform the dominance of the ideas they critique and instead focus on building and mobilising alternative ideas with others. As Callon puts it, the performativity of economies requires sociologists and other social scientists to 'recognize the right of economists to contribute to performing markets, but at the same time [to] claim our own right to do the same but from a different perspective' (Callon in Barry and Slater 2002 p301; see also Callon 2010). In this way, the notion of performativity opens up 'spaces of alternative market experimentation'; if the economy is performed, Barnes asks, what sort of economy do we want to perform? (2008 p1444). The academy provides one potentially powerful location from which to launch and mobilise new economic models and concepts through institutions and networks in order to create the

conditions in which new facts and representations can survive (Gibson-Graham 2008).

Gibson-Graham uses the notion of performativity to argue that hegemonic discourses of the economy constrain our capacities to think and act beyond capitalism. Her 'feminist critique of political economy' (2006a) was a response to dominant cultures of theorising in the 1970s and 80s, which focused on the critical analysis of capitalism. Political economists explored the ways in which capitalist hegemony was secured in order to reveal how it might be challenged and overthrown. They were not concerned with the power of their own representations of the world, but rather were 'trying to capture "what was happening out there"' (Gibson-Graham 2006a pxxxix). They hoped that their critical analyses would provide insights that could inform political action or, in other words, 'we understand the world in order to change it' (p1). However, in focussing on the hegemony of capitalism, Gibson-Graham suggested, they had produced analyses which repeated and reinforced its increasing dominance, making it harder to identify actually-existing alternative economies or to or imagine how they might yet emerge. In other words, they had been 'actively participating in consolidating a new phase of capitalist hegemony' (Gibson-Graham 2006a pxxix). Gibson-Graham reflects:

*'Chasing the illusion that I was understanding the world in order to change it, I was running in a well-worn track, and had only to cast a glance over my shoulder to see, as the product of my analysis, "capitalist society" even more substantial and definitive than when I began' (Gibson-Graham 2006a pxxix).*

Concern about this problem led Gibson-Graham to the resources of poststructuralism, postmodernism, feminism and queer theory which she used to 'take on' capitalism in order to weaken its grip on our political imagination in *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. This work is both playful and powerful, as Gibson-Graham makes use of multiple modes of critique in order to deconstruct capitalism without (again) performing its hegemony. She is explicit that her account of Capitalism's mastery and dominance is a 'straw man' construction that presents Capitalism as a '(ridiculous) monster' that 'will never be found in pure form in any other text' (2006a p10). Yet, she argues, attempting to 'tame' capitalism through more

contingent/nuanced accounts 'does not necessarily address the discursive features and figurings that render capitalism superior to its non capitalist others' (p11). She develops instead a series of critiques that each, in different ways, 'represent a skirmish with the capitalist beast. We depict the object of our obsession as powerful and well developed, but we also try to muzzle and silence it' (p23). Through and from these struggles, Gibson-Graham begins to construct a politics based on economic difference in place of the 'hideous monster' of capitalism (p20). Gibson-Graham's language of economic difference is intended to dislodge the grip of capitalocentric economic discourse on our political imaginations, opening up new ways of relating to the economy as the interdependent subjects of a diverse economy we make ourselves.

### *2.2.1 A politics of language*

Gibson-Graham proposes a language of the diverse economy in order to displace the dominance of capitalism in economic discourse. In capitalocentric economic discourse, the economy as a whole is labelled as 'capitalist', rendering all other forms of economic activity (e.g. unpaid care work, unpaid domestic work, barter networks, gift economies, cooperative enterprises etc) invisible or, at best, marginal in relation to capitalist activity. For example, although feminist economists have demonstrated the considerable contribution of unpaid labour to the economy, non-capitalist economic activity 'fail[s] to measure up' (Gibson-Graham 2006a p7) within capitalocentric thinking about the economy. Attempts to expand the realm of the economic to include these 'missing parts' through what Cameron and Gibson-Graham describe as '*adding on* and *counting in*' strategies (2003 p149) - for example, adding the sphere of reproduction to the sphere of production - only affirm the dominance of the capitalist economy, having no positive identity of their own. Rather, they are defined in relation to what they are not and therefore are constrained to be thought of as capitalism's lesser others. Gibson-Graham visually communicates these ideas using the image of an iceberg; non-capitalist economic activity may exist but, in so far as it is seen at all, it has a supporting and marginal role in relation to the economy proper, defined as capitalism (Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1 *The economy as an iceberg, revealing the usually hidden (submerged) diversity of ways of organising economic activity that, together with the capitalist economic activity (the ‘tip of the iceberg’), make up the economy as a whole. Source: Community Economies Collective, freely available for non-commercial re-use<sup>3</sup>.*

Gibson-Graham turns to feminist theory in order to escape the confines of binary difference which continually relegate noncapitalism as subordinate in relation to capitalism and non-market as subordinate to market. Once the economy is ‘empt[ied] of any essential identity, logic, organizing principle or

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.communityeconomies.org/Resources>.

determinant', space is made instead for 'conceptualising the radical diversity of economic relations' (Cameron and Gibson-Graham 2003 p152). Instead of capitalism, Gibson-Graham re-theorises the economy as a 'postmodern pregnant space' of diversity (2006a p85). This diverse economy framing (Figure 2.2) fractures 'the economy' across three axes - 'different kinds of *transaction* and ways of negotiating (in)commensurability; different types of *labor* [sic] and ways of compensating it; and different forms of economic *enterprise* and ways of producing, appropriating, and distributing surplus' (pxii). This fracturing cuts capitalism down to size, freeing up space within the economy for a diversity of ways of organising economic activity: 'what is often seen as the *economy*, that is formal markets, wage labor, and capitalist enterprise, is merely one set of cells in a complex field of economic relations that sustain livelihoods' (pxiii, emphasis as original). Non-capitalist activity such as unpaid labour is firmly located *inside* the diverse economy and the diversity of alternative capitalist forms of enterprise comes into clearer view, for example.

TRANSACTIONS	LABOUR	ENTERPRISE
Market	Wage	Capitalist
<b>Alternative Market</b> Sale of public goods 'Fair-trade' markets Alternative currencies Underground market Co-op exchange Barter	<b>Alternative Paid</b> Self-employed Cooperative Indentured Reciprocal labour In-kind Work for welfare	<b>Alternative Capitalist</b> State enterprise Green capitalist Socially responsible firm Nonprofit
Nonmarket	Unpaid	Noncapitalist
Household flows Gift giving State allocations State appropriations Hunting, fishing, etc Theft, poaching	Housework Family care Neighbourhood work Volunteer Self-provisioning labour Slave labour	Communal Independent Feudal Slave

Figure 2.2 Gibson-Graham's diverse economy framing. Source: adapted from Gibson-Graham (2006b p71), with permission.

### 2.2.2 *A politics of the subject*

Gibson-Graham's language of economic difference is intended to dislodge the grip of capitalocentric economic discourse on our political imaginations, beginning a process of relating differently to the economy or, in other words, becoming new economic subjects. This involves moving away from the familiar positions we have come to occupy in relation to capitalism - for example, being dependent on and/or desiring a job and/or opposing capitalism – so as to become active participants in making a diverse economy. These transformations can be uncomfortable, frightening and strongly resisted because they involve giving up a familiar and desired object, whether from a position of dependence on, desire for and/or opposition to capitalism. In *A Postcapitalist Politics*, Gibson-Graham therefore draws on diverse theoretical resources, in particular ideas about desire, paranoia and melancholia from psychoanalytic and queer theory, in order to develop a series of tools and practices that she uses to support herself and others in becoming new economic subjects (Gibson-Graham 2006b; see also Gibson-Graham 2008).

Becoming the economic subjects of a diverse economy involves cultivating thinking practices that allow space for new economic possibilities to emerge. In place of the attractive certainties of 'strong theory', which 'affords the pleasure of recognition, of capture... [but] offers no relief or exit to a place beyond', Gibson-Graham looks to 'weak theory' in order to cultivate 'an open and hospitable orientation to the objects of our thought', namely the possibilities for other economies (2006b pp4 and 6). Rather than use our critical faculties to conclude that local currencies (for example) are contradictory and constrained alternatives to capitalism, we are invited instead to take an 'open' stance which 'recognizes that what we are looking at is on its way to becoming something else' (Gibson-Graham 2008 p628).

If we can hold back from too quick and easy rejections of alternative economic experiments as marginal and contradictory, we can begin to re-position ourselves as the interdependent subjects of a diverse economy. Simply put, we are all economic actors whose diverse activities collectively make the economy, whether through paid or unpaid work, formally or informally

organised/regulated labour, gifts, barter or market transactions. The economy is not something 'out there', separate from social and political life but something we make with others (see also Massey 2013). Becoming new economic subjects therefore involves recognising our interdependence as part of what Gibson-Graham names a 'community economy'. This term brings together two concepts more usually held in opposition to each other - economy and community - in order to focus on 'the being-in-common of all economic subjects and of all possible and potential economic forms' (Gibson-Graham 2006b p86). This is not about 'the common properties of an ideal economic organization or an ideal community economy... [but rather] specify[ing] coordinates for negotiating and exploring interdependence' (*ibid*). In these ways, Gibson-Graham 'resignif[ies] economy as a site of decision, of ethical praxis... [and] all economic practices as inherently social and always connected' (pp87-88). The economy is a space of political decision-making; as economic subjects we make it together and can re-make it otherwise.

### *2.2.3 The contribution of a critical analysis of contested urban economies to diverse and community economies research*

Gibson-Graham's critique of capitalocentric economic discourse and her economic politics have inspired a growing area of research on diverse and community economies, some of which is drawn together under the Community Economies Collective (CEC) and the Community Economies Research Network (CERN). My use of her work to explore the politics of diverse urban economies therefore not only contributes to critical urban research but also to diverse and community economies research. While a review of this broader literature is outside the scope of this thesis, I wish briefly to highlight some of the debates to which it contributes.

First, this chapter uses Gibson-Graham's economic politics to re-think economy from a different starting place. Gibson-Graham's community economy experiments start small by re-imagining local economies and possibilities for local economic development in areas abandoned or ignored by modern global capitalism, such as the formerly strong coal mining region of the Latrobe Valley near Melbourne, Australia or the poor fishing settlements in the Jagna

Municipality, Philippines (Cameron and Gibson 2005a and 2005b, Gibson-Graham 2005 and 2006b). While for some scholars this makes them too small and powerless to make a difference (e.g. Kelly 2005), Gibson-Graham suggest this perspective reflects how 'a hierarchy of scales from global to local [map] onto a hierarchy of power in which macro forces operate to constrain everyday practices' (2006a pxxvi; see also Gibson-Graham 2002). In defending the local, however, Gibson-Graham do not rule out diverse/community economies research which takes some other starting point but rather call for further research to explore the different spatialities of diverse and community economies. Relatedly, Jonas has suggested that diverse and community economies researchers take on the 'considerable practical challenges associated with assembling alternative economic practices at larger territorial scales' (2013 p823). The urban is a relevant starting point for re-thinking economy because, as I show in the next section, cities are increasingly important to understandings about 'the global economy' and 'global capitalism' and, therefore, also potentially important in framing the possibilities for alternatives.

Relatedly, I bring a focus on the role of encounter and conflict with metropolitan and local state actors and dominant approaches to urban economic development in mobilising diverse economic actors to develop more inclusive alternatives. Community economies performative participatory action research projects – discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 – focus on building new language, subjectivities and possibilities for practical action amongst community participants (e.g. Cameron and Gibson 2005a and 2005b, Gibson-Graham 2005, 2006b and 2008, Gibson-Graham *et al* 2013). The possibility that new approaches to economic development might (need to) be secured, at least in part, through more antagonistic relationships between communities and state actors has remained outside the scope of most diverse and community economies research (Frenzel and Beverungen 2015, Gritzas and Kavoulakos 2016, Jonas 2013). Where local state actors have been involved in supporting or partnering the projects, researchers report problems such as withdrawal of financial support or lack of commitment to incorporating project findings into local economic development policies (Cameron and Gibson 2005a and 2005b, Gibson-Graham 2005). As diverse/community economies research develops,



therefore, Gibson-Graham and others are beginning to ask questions about the 'knowledge' struggles involved in performing and sustaining diverse alternatives and how to think about power (Gibson-Graham 2006a pxxxiii). In this chapter, I draw attention to two sites of contestation and struggle which may be productive of alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development, namely the economic language, models and metrics used to describe urban economies in city strategies and plans (Section 2.3) and the threat of commercial displacement (Section 2.5).

Finally, while Gibson-Graham has drawn attention to the possibility that '[r]eading for difference in the realm of capitalist business can even produce insight into the potential contributions of private corporations to building other possible worlds' (Gibson-Graham 2008 p624-5), diverse and community economies research has tended to focus on non- and alternative-capitalist ways of organising economic activities (although see, for example, North 2016). One reason for this may be the way that the language of the diverse economy separates different ways of organising economic activity from one another, fracturing the economy in three directions (Figure 2.2). In contrast, as I show in Section 2.4, bringing the diversity of *urban* economies into view emphasises the complex interconnections between different economic activities, preventing the isolation of any one activity from the diversity of urban economies. Starting from the diversity of urban economies therefore opens up the possibility of solidarity and collaboration across the great diversity of interconnected and interdependent capitalist, non-capitalist and alternative-capitalist activities that collectively make urban economies work.

### **2.3 The performativity of the global/world city view**

In the rest of this chapter, I use the notion of economic performativity and Gibson-Graham's economic politics of language and the subject to develop a critical analysis of urban economies focused on the possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development. I begin here by using the notion of economic performativity not only to draw attention to the performativity of the concepts of global and world cities but also to open up a previously hidden zone of contestation over the economic language, models

and metrics used to describe urban economies in city strategies and plans. These concepts have their roots in the critical analysis of the roles and functions of cities in commanding and controlling global capitalism (Brenner *et al* 2009, Keil 2009, Peck 2015, Robinson 2002, Smith 2013). Reviews of global and world cities research (GCR) from both critics and proponents (e.g. Robinson 2002, Surborg 2011, van Meeteren *et al* 2016a) highlight its foundations in a number of defining contributions on global and world cities during the 1980s and 1990s. These analyses brought a special focus on those economic activities within cities which were thought to play a particularly important role in the emerging world or global economy. Some of the most influential contributions include:

- Friedmann and Wolff's (1982; see also Friedmann 1986) focus on the coordinating functions of a network of 'world cities' operating as 'basing points' for global capital;
- Sassen's (1991) emphasis on the role of advanced producer services (APS) located in a small number 'global cities', in particular New York, London and Tokyo;
- Beaverstock *et al*'s (1999) efforts to assess cities' positions in networks of global and world cities according to the number of APS firms; and
- P J. Taylor and his Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) research group colleagues' (2002) subsequent emphasis on ranking cities according to their complement of APS firms identified to have multiple international offices.

These scholars brought a critical focus on 'globalised capitalist urbanization and its uneven consequences' (van Meeteren *et al* 2016a p252). The founding contributions of Friedmann and Sassen in particular followed the dominant cultures of political economy theorising in the 1970s and 80s which focused on the critical analysis of capitalism. The aim of this mode of critical analysis was to understand the ways in which capitalist hegemony was secured in order to reveal how it might be challenged and overthrown: 'we understand the world in order to change it' (Gibson-Graham 2006a). It is for this reason that Friedmann, Sassen and other critical global and world city researchers focused their attention on those very specific activities located in a small number of cities

which they suggest play a particular role in securing global capitalism (Smith 2013). This mode of critique has resulted in GCR's focus on international financial services (IFS), the 'advanced producer services' (APS) of accountancy, advertising, banking/finance and law; the FIRE - finance, insurance and real estate - sectors; and the headquarters of multinational companies (MNCs)/transnational corporations (TNCs). This focus has driven successive efforts to understand the roles and functions of the largest concentrations of these activities in specific cities, in particular London and New York. One significant strand of this work is the rankings, hierarchies and maps produced by GaWC in which cities are represented and compared according to their complement of activities of concern to GCR. The mode of critical analysis deployed by GCR's founders has therefore been concerned with understanding very particular economic activities taking place in specific cities.

While GCR has only concerned itself with specific aspects of urban economies, its central concepts of the global city and the world city suggest a much broader view and relevance. Cities are defined as global or world cities on the basis of a very specific set of located activities that might more accurately have been labelled 'new industrial districts of transnational management and control' (Robinson 2002 p536). Global and world city rankings and maps do not compare urban economies but rather different clusters of IFS, APS, FIRE or TNCs. Cities which might have other significant roles in relation to the global economy are not represented on these rankings and hierarchies because of their focus on certain activities and not others. For example, Bassens *et al* (2010) have shown that if P. J. Taylor's (2001 and 2004) methodology is used to rank and map cities according to the location of the most highly connected Islamic financial services firms, the Middle Eastern cities of Manama (Bahrain), Dubai (United Arab Emirates), Beirut (Lebanon), Amman and Abu Dhabi perform most strongly, displacing London, New York, Singapore, Hong Kong, etc from the top of the table. It remains the case, however, that GCR is concerned with the role of concentrations of particular economic activities in specific locations within individual cities. I refer to this perspective on urban economies as 'the global/world city view' in order to highlight the narrow and partial view of urban economies provided by the global and world city concepts and GCR more generally.

While these concepts and the field of research they inspired may have been intended 'as critical tools to analyze and visualise geographies of uneven development under global capitalism', both GCR proponents and their critics acknowledge that they have been used in a very different way by policy makers (van Meeteren *et al* 2016a p255; see also McCann *et al* 2013, Peck 2015, Robinson 2002 and 2006, Smith 2013, P. J. Taylor 2012). GCR has become a globally influential policy prescription which inspires city authorities to focus their resources on developing a small sub-set of paradigmatic activities in order to compete in the global economy (Robinson 2002 and 2006). In other words, 'the notion of world/global cities has become performative in that the world it once objectively proclaimed to study has been affected by its analyses' (McCann *et al* 2013 p587, paraphrasing Robinson's (2006) argument). The rankings and hierarchies produced by GaWC and others have played a particularly important role here, providing cities with a ladder to climb and examples to emulate in pursuit of global economic success. Key individuals in the field - notably Hall, Sassen, Friedmann and P. J. Taylor - have been particularly caught up in urban policy circuits, for example through their major texts, research conducted for city authorities and international policy-oriented lectures (Olds and Yeung 2004, van Meeteren *et al* 2016a). That is not to say that they themselves have been the deliberate proponents of the approaches to urban economic development that have been inspired by the global/world city view (Robinson 2016, van Meeteren *et al* 2016a). For example, Sassen (cited in van Meeteren *et al* 2016a) and P. J. Taylor (2012) state that city governments have been disappointed by their findings about the extent of cooperation (rather than competition) between global/world cities. Sassen has also been clear that she does not advise city authorities to seek to emulate other cities but rather focus on their own specific advantages (cited in Robinson 2002). Many other factors than GCR and its key figures are therefore implicated in the emergence of a global/world city-oriented urban economic development approaches.

A variety of critical urban research (including within GCR) has explored the political processes of global city formation. At the top of global hierarchies, the emergence and development of 'command and control' functions are shown to rely upon the support and facilitation of state actors in various ways, for example in Margaret Thatcher's deregulation of London's financial markets in

1986 and the subsequent work of various business partnerships, government bodies and other organisations to embed the strategic prioritisation of London's international financial services in its new metropolitan governance arrangements (Budd and Edwards 1997, Edwards 2001, Gordon 1999, Thornley *et al* 2002). More recently, Gordon highlights the significance of the 'truly massive support to banking/financial activities, in turn through the bail-outs, implicit subsidies (free insurance against future bail-ins), and quantitative easing', in significantly protecting not only London's financial services sector but also employment in its centre more broadly from the global financial crisis of 2007-2008 (2016a p318; see also Gordon 2011 and 2016b). Other studies have shown how city-states have been able to combine urban and national policy goals and tools to shape specific global city formation processes in Hong Kong and Singapore (e.g. Olds and Yeung 2004). Researchers have explored how global city narratives emerge and are mobilised in support of particular approaches to urban economic development in a variety of other cities, for example, St Petersburg, Russia (Golubchikov 2010) and Sydney, Australia (Baker and Ruming 2015). These critical analyses begin to 'pull back the screen... to reveal the machinations' (Shatkin 2011 p80) involved in constituting, sustaining and mobilising global and world city narratives and the very particular interests they serve.

If researchers remain wholly focussed on tracing the power and influence of the global/world city view, however, they risk missing the possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development. There has been a tendency in critical urban research to look for - and therefore to find - only the increasing power and dominance of the global/world city approach (Jacobs 2012, Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti 2007, McGuirk 2012, Parnell and Robinson 2012). Diverse economic actors also hold different knowledge about urban economies which they at times seek to mobilise to contest the economic visions and models underpinning city strategies and plans. Yet these alternative narratives and actors are easily overlooked in relation to dominant globalising urban growth approaches (McGuirk 2012, Parnell and Robinson 2006). We can see this problem at work in Baker and Ruming's (2015) analysis of the 'making up' of global Sydney, which is built from the finished city strategies and plans, not concerning itself with the political

and potentially contested process of making or enacting them, a point they highlight as needing further research. While Baker and Ruming are clear that 'worlding' is not the sole preserve of urban governments, business elites and experts, in basing their analysis of Global Sydney only in these fields of knowledge and action, they are not able to identify or analyse any other possibilities. Similarly, evidence of contestation is generally ignored within scholarly accounts of the embedding of a global/world city view of London's economy into its new metropolitan governance arrangements (see Chapter 3). These analyses produce powerful and attractive critiques but leave little room to think about alternative strategies and plans for urban economic development.

Even hegemonic narratives of (urban and) regional economies can be subject to interruptions, openings and absences, from which 'new performances of economy, region and subjecthood' might emerge (Gibson 2001 p665). McCann writes that the work of 'meaning-making and place-making... in struggles over the future of space economies' is never complete, being always open to 'appropriat[i]on and reassambl[age] in combination with other elements by opposing forces in order to present an alternative vision of the future of a place' (2002 p385 and 387; see also Boudreau 2007). Parnell and Robinson emphasise the co-presence of both global city ambitions and the redistributive politics of the African National Congress party in Johannesburg's city development strategy, for example (2006 and 2012; see also Lipietz 2008, Robinson 2006). In this case, Johannesburg's city development strategy mobilised broad opposition from trades unions, the communist party, academics and civil society networks, despite the constraints of its mainstream participatory process (Lipietz 2008). Interfaces, encounters, contestations and instances of rejection and mutation, where conflicting rationalities collide and interact, are therefore key sites of learning for urban scholars concerned to generate ideas and propositions for city strategies and plans beyond the global/world city approach (Jacobs 2012, Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti 2007, Parnell and Robinson 2006, Roy 2011a, Watson 2009).

The performativity of economics implies that the language, models and metrics used to describe urban economies in city strategies and plans will be a key site of contestation. While urban scholarship has thus far focused on the

ways in which economic rankings, benchmarks and the industries of global urbanism make up global and world cities, the performativity of economics draws attention to the ways in which these models, benchmarks and rankings are *themselves* the result of constitutive technologies and political projects. Christophers (2014) has made similar use of the economic performativity literature in order to examine the ways in which developers' models of the viability of affordable housing provision in new developments have gradually come to shape housing delivery in the UK in their own image. He further argues that the focus of urban studies on the role of models such as the creative city and the creative class - and the global/world city, I would add - in shaping cities could be extended by incorporating a concern with the work of 'calculative, technical, economic models' (p80). There is a risk, however, as I cautioned earlier, that such critical analyses might performatively reinforce the dominance of the very narratives they seek to unsettle. For example, in his account of the performativity of viability models, Christophers does not mention that a number of community planning groups in London have challenged these models - for example, by bringing Freedom of Information requests to make public the basis of the calculations of developers - as part of their broader efforts to secure affordable housing in major new developments (e.g. 35% Campaign 2014). While I recognise that the language, models and metrics used to describe global cities play a role in bringing them into being, I therefore also maintain that economic actors marginalised, excluded or displaced by these strategies and plans can challenge them by developing and mobilising alternative representations of urban economies which support a more inclusive approach.

## **2.4 Representing the diversity of urban economies**

In this section, I gather together evidence and analyses which challenge the global/world city concept by bringing the diversity of urban economies into view. From these perspectives, urban policy makers may be more likely to direct their resources and attention towards the diversity of economic activities on which the majority of urban lives and livelihoods depend. Whereas Gibson-Graham's language of the diverse economy fractures the economy through three axes which demarcate capitalist economic activity from a diversity of non- and alternative capitalist economic activities (2006a and 2006b; see Section 2.2),

the analyses presented in this section emphasise the connections *between* different economic activities, preventing the isolation of any sector or sectors from the diversity of urban economies. These analyses provide performative resources for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development.

The global/world city view provides such a narrow perspective on urban economies because it picks out those specific activities in specific places which critical urban scholars have suggested play a particular role in commanding and controlling global capitalism (Smith 2013, van Meeteren *et al* 2016a). Focusing critical analysis on the dominance of capitalism renders invisible the diverse non- and alternative-capitalist activities actually-existing in the present, making it harder to identify and imagine alternatives (Gibson-Graham 2006a and 2006b). The global/world city concept removes still more of the economy from view: thinking about cities through the idea of 'command and control' of global capitalism makes even the diversity of the *capitalist* economy disappear. Critiques of the notion of command and control have resulted in a more precise understanding of how specific elite actors within IFS, APS, FIRE and TNCs exercise power through specific practices and connections (e.g. Allen 2010, Bassens and van Meeteren 2015, Jones 2002, Smith 2014). Within GCR, however, these even narrower concerns continue to be used to label entire cities, removing still more of the diversity of urban economies from view (Robinson 2016, van Meeteren *et al* 2016b).

One possible starting point for challenging the narrow focus of the global/world city view is therefore to demonstrate the existence and value of other sectors of capitalist economic activity located within those cities at the top of global/world city hierarchies. It has long been demonstrated, for example, that the importance of financial services to the London economy has been overstated in global/world city narratives (Buck *et al* 2002, Edwards 1996, Gordon 1999 and 2011, Robinson 2006, Wood and Wójcik 2010). More recently, researchers have also articulated the value of sectors more commonly thought of as in decline or playing a supportive or secondary role. High street and suburban economies are an increasing focus of research in the UK, revealing that twice as many formal jobs are located in high streets as in the Central



Activities Zone in London (Gort Scott and UCL 2010). Simple surveys and sophisticated spatial analysis can communicate the diversity and liveliness of retail, office and industrial activity taking place in these often ignored or misunderstood locations (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, Hall 2011, 2015a and 2015b, Vaughan *et al* 2009 and 2013). A small body of research has also emerged which articulates the size and competitiveness of the manufacturing sector even in supposedly postindustrial global cities such as London and New York (Curran 2007, Ferm and Jones 2015 and 2016, Gort Scott 2013, Raco and Tunney 2010). These accounts begin to challenge the synecdoche of the concept of the global/world city by demonstrating the existence and importance of economic sectors other than IFS, APS and FIRE in the very places from which it originated and which continue to define it, even as more cities join the top ranks of global hierarchies (cf Globalization and World Cities Research Network 2000 and 2016). The influence of the global/world city view in many cities around the world means that alternative accounts of the diverse economies of these paradigmatic cities will provide performative resources for alternative approaches to urban economic development, not only in these cities but elsewhere.

Feminist and postcolonial urban researchers have gone beyond the diversity of the capitalist economy by exploring the role of unpaid labour and informal economic activities in making urban economies work. Efforts to estimate the monetary value of unpaid work have revealed a hidden economy of comparable scale to the market economy (e.g. Folbre and Nelson 2000, Land 2002 cited in Jarvis 2007) but rural/urban breakdowns or estimates for specific cities are not presently available. Feminist urban geographers have focussed their attention on revealing, exploring and naming the connections between production and reproduction in cities (Jarvis 2005, Mackenzie 1999, McDowell *et al* 2005, Rose 1993). For example, in Mackenzie's study of the practice of homeworking amongst women, she suggests this activity 'fill[s] the formerly invisible gaps in the separated city [of home and work]... creating new urban resources' (1999 pp421 and 423). Jarvis' concept of 'the infrastructure of everyday life' is similarly intended to bring attention to (women's unpaid) co-ordination and connective work in cities, upon which urban life depends (2005

p133; see also McDowell *et al* 2005). These analyses challenge and resist the subordination of unpaid labour in relation to paid labour.

In a similar way, postcolonial research has challenged the binary framing of the informal economy in relation to the formal economy. The concept of the informal economy was first coined by anthropologist Keith Hart to describe the economic liveliness of cities in what was then termed 'the third world', which were in theory suffering from the 'malaise' of urban unemployment (2010 p145). Significant progress has since been made towards including informal workers in statistical labour surveys, with recent work revealing 'the large proportion of informal workers in the urban labour force... [for example] street vendors represent 11 and 15 per cent of the urban workforce in India and South Africa, respectively' (International Labour Office and Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organising 2013 pxii, emphasis removed). The informal economy remains marginal, however, when seen as the binary 'other' of the powerful, dominant formal economy. For example, even though the economic analyses produced to inform city visioning in Durban, South Africa, recognised that job creation rates were highest in the informal sector, the consultants still labelled it as a 'struggling' sector and concluded that the future growth of the city would be driven by other 'advanced sectors of the economy' which performed more strongly in terms of output (Monitor Group 2000, cited by C. Marx 2011 p1019). The binary framing of the informal economy in relation to the formal economy is challenged by Roy's (2005 and 2011b) work which reveals that informal activities can be found throughout the 'formal sector' and that informal organisations can be owned or managed by powerful individuals or interests. From this perspective, informality is not restricted to the spaces and activities of the poor but rather includes both the informal practices of the elite and powerful (which are legitimised and legalised by state actors) and of the poor (which are designated as criminal, unauthorized and/or unwanted). Roy's work has inspired others to make use of the concept of informality in cities in the global North, for example New York (Devlin 2011) and Berlin (Hentschel 2015).

Despite the temptation to identify any one sector as crucial to success (Amin and Graham 1997, Buck *et al* 2002, Gordon 2006), there is increasing evidence that *all* economic actors both contribute to and draw on the benefits of

co-locating in cities. These so-called 'agglomeration economies' are derived from the co-presence of people, firms, institutions, infrastructure and other amenities in cities and extend across the spheres of economic, social, cultural and political urban life (Duranton and Puga 2000, Robinson 2006, Scott and Storper 2003 and 2015). Jane Jacobs' (1972) idea that urban vitality is produced through the co-existence of and encounter between different social groups and economic actors suggests that *all* firms produce and draw upon these agglomeration economies. Scott and Storper argue that agglomeration economies are produced and drawn upon collectively, generating a 'regional economic commons' (2003 p587). Agglomeration economies therefore result from and accrue to a diversity of sectors, 'even simple craft- or small firm-based industries, which were once thought as the very antithesis of any kind of durable development' (Scott and Storper 2003 p585). From this perspective, the growth and development of cities cannot be attributed to or secured by any particular sector or sectors. Rather, the whole urban economy is seen to contribute to growth and development rather than its exceptional, paradigmatic parts alone (Amin and Graham 1997).

These ideas are increasingly supported by evidence from urban economics about the particular benefits of economic diversity in the form of innovative and adaptive capacity. Urban economics (and geographical/spatial economics) has brought a particular focus on additional benefits accruing to firms in the same sector ('localisation economies', for example, access to specialist labour markets) in addition to the more general agglomeration economies described above (termed 'urbanisation economies') (Duranton and Puga 2000, Robinson 2006, Scott and Storper 2003). Over time, these processes would produce more specialised cities as firms gained competitive advantage by locating in a city already specialised in their industry (Duranton and Puga 2000). New models, however, are beginning to suggest that there are dynamic advantages to (particularly young) firms of locating in a sectorally diverse city because they can innovate by learning and borrowing from each other (*ibid*). While the evidence is still emerging and subject to debate, overall it suggests that sectoral diversity provides innovation benefits as well as adaptive capacity for long-term resilience and growth (De Groot *et al* 2010, Duranton and Puga 2000, Essletzbichler 2012). This evidence supports the fact that several

cities at the top of global/world city hierarchies, including London, New York and Paris, have in fact derived their long-term success and resilience from their economic diversity (Buck *et al* 2002, Duranton and Puga 2000).

If urban economies are much more diverse and complex than the global/world city view would suggest, what implications might this have for urban policy? In 1997, Amin and Graham made the case for a more subtle approach to urban policy and planning, focussed on supporting and sustaining interconnections and synergies, rather than on any particular element or aspect of urban life. Recognising the importance of diversity to London's long-term economic success and resilience, for example, researchers have proposed that it is this diversity which should be targeted by its metropolitan strategies and plans (Buck *et al* 2002, Essletzbichler 2013). Demands have been increasing from researchers, community and business groups in London for the London Plan to recognise the diversity of London's economy as part of a more inclusive and sustainable approach to urban economic development (Edwards 2009, 2010a, JSEP 2014a, Just Space 2016; see Chapters 3 and 5). In the case of London and other supposedly global/world cities, however, the grip of the global city narrative may be particularly hard to shake off.

In poorer cities, where social development goals may be more powerfully present in policy making processes and where the entwining of the social and the economic in cities is made more obvious due to the visibility and extent of informal economic activity, Robinson suggests that urban policy makers may be more open to exploring and pursuing economic diversification strategies because of their capacity to provide broader-based social and economic development (2006; see also Devlin 2011, Parnell and Robinson 2006, Skinner 2009). Economic diversification may be a particularly relevant strategy for poorer cities as a means of developing internal propulsion and securing a broad economic base that can meet basic developmental needs as well as more global ambitions (Bryceson 2006, C. Marx 2006 and 2011, Robinson 2006, Turok 2013). In targeting the diversity of the city, rather than only its paradigmatic 'global' parts (often at the expense of others), the hope is that resources and attention will be directed towards the basic, collective infrastructure that supports diverse urban economies, leading to more inclusive

urban economic development (Robinson 2006; see also Bryceson 2006, McCann 2004, Turok 2009).

Following Robinson, then, poorer cities may have much to teach richer cities about how economic diversity might be recognised, supported and developed – or ‘nurtured’ – in city strategies and plans. Bringing the diversity of urban economies back in, all cities – including those at the top of global hierarchies – can be thought of as ‘ordinary’, ‘as diverse and distinctive with the possibility to imagine (within the constraints of contestations and uneven power relations) their own futures and their own distinctive forms of cityness’ (Robinson 2006 p113). Robinson proposes that ‘it is this diversity – of political interests, social relations and economic interests – that can form the basis for an alternative view of cities and their futures’ (2006 p113). It is because of this greater experience and capacity to think differently about urban economies and urban economic development in the global South that this study of London’s economy and economic development draws on literature extending across cities of the global North and South.

## **2.5 Mobilising the political subjects of diverse urban economies**

It is not immediately obvious where to look for the political subjects of diverse urban economies. The concept of urban growth regimes/machines, which originated in the U.S., has inspired critical urban researchers to focus on the formation of coalitions between city authorities and big businesses in other places (Wood 2004; see also Section 2.3). In the UK there has been a focus on the active role of the state in mobilising business interests, leaders and associations in an unfolding process of neoliberal restructuring of urban governance under successive Conservative and Labour governments since the 1980s (Peck 1995, Peck and Tickell 1995, Raco 2003, Wood 2004). In both perspectives, business politics are seen in relation to the changing role of elite actors and interests in securing capitalism (North *et al* 2001, Peck 1995). This starting point makes it harder to identify how different business interests might already be mobilising in other, potentially powerful ways. It also denies the possibility that urban social movements and activists may find allies amongst the great diversity of capitalist, non-capitalist and alternative-capitalist activities

that make urban economies work. Thinking about business politics from this perspective therefore removes from view whole terrains and modes of political mobilisation which might offer ideas and insights about the possibilities for alternatives.

The understanding of diverse urban economies developed in the previous section offers a more open starting point for thinking about the role of businesses in urban development processes. From this perspective, the mobilisation of elite and powerful business interests can more clearly be seen to be representative of just one part of a diverse urban economy, rather than the whole. Understandings about the role of businesses in urban development processes and their politics can be populated with analyses of the mobilisation of diverse economic actors, for example industrial firms (e.g. Raco and Tunney 2010), BME owned firms (e.g. Hall 2015a, Sutton 2010), market traders (e.g. Gonzalez and Dawson 2015) and street and informal traders (e.g. Skinner 2008 and 2009). These accounts of the mobilisation of different economic groups and interests are already available but are spread across separate fields of research, separated from the much larger body of work focussed on the role of businesses in securing capitalism through evolving entrepreneurial urban regimes.

In the remainder of this section, I therefore assemble research which explores instances of such mobilisations, in order to make visible the diversity of economic interests and actors available to challenge and develop alternatives to dominant approaches to urban economic development such as those inspired by the global/world city view. I focus on the threat of commercial displacement because it is a site of conflict between different values, interests and knowledge about urban economies. This literature is drawn both from cities of the global North, which tends to frame itself in relation to critical urban studies and gentrification research, and the global South, which is more oriented towards the informal economy and urban policy debates. Bringing this literature together reveals that the threat of displacement has, on occasion, generated new narratives about the importance of threatened activities and drawn residents and firms into alliances and coalitions. I therefore suggest that firms and residents may be able to build the 'relations of interdependence' (Gibson-

Graham 2008 p627) on which a more inclusive approach to urban economic development will ultimately rely by mobilising to resist displacement.

The displacement of firms in cities has tended to be seen as part of a 'natural' process of evolution or transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy, in which less productive and competitive firms are priced out by more productive and competitive ones (Ferm 2016, Ferm and Jones 2015, Zukin 2008). Until recently, critical urban scholars and gentrification researchers have paid almost no attention to commercial displacement nor to opposition or alternatives to this process (Curran 2007, Ferm 2014a, Gonzalez and Waley 2013, McLean *et al* 2015, Slater 2009, Zukin *et al* 2009). Scholars have explored the role of abandoned, neglected and relatively low-cost inner city industrial buildings as attractive sites for residential gentrification (Zukin 1989) but have generally not considered business experiences of displacement (Curran 2007, Ferm 2014a).

Recent research on industrial displacement in Brooklyn, New York demonstrates that '[d]isplacement is an active process undertaken by real estate developers, city planners, policy-makers, landlords and even individual gentrifiers' (Curran 2007 p1428; see also Curran and Hanson 2005). An emerging body of work on industrial displacement in London provides further evidence in support of this view (Ferm 2016, Ferm and Jones 2015 and 2016, Raco and Tunney 2010), as does Gonzalez and Waley's (2013) research on retail displacement in the U.K., in particular the redevelopment of what they term, 'traditional retail markets'. In their recent research on Toronto, McLean *et al* identify a burgeoning interest in using creative city strategies to revitalise commercial streets in disinvested suburbs by 'coding existing spaces as undesirable, dangerous, and indeed as "empty space"' (2015 p1293). Research on markets and informal street trading in the global South, although not framed in relation to gentrification debates, reveals similar efforts on the part of the city authorities to represent them as chaotic, insanitary and/or dangerous in order to justify their eviction to make way for activities which fit more neatly into the script of the modern global city (e.g. Ikioda 2013, Lauermann 2012, Ng 2014, Skinner 2008 and 2009).

This recent research suggests that, as in the case of residential gentrification, commercial gentrification is an active and political process, not a natural or inevitable one. As such, commercial gentrification, like residential gentrification, is open to contestation and is a possible site of struggle for alternative, more inclusive urban futures. The prospects for and potential of such struggles are, however, hard to ascertain because there is even less research on *opposition and alternatives to* commercial gentrification than on the process itself, compared with the rather larger and more developed body of research on resistance to residential gentrification (Lees 2007, Lees and Ferreri 2016, Slater 2006 and 2009). In their research on industrial displacement in Williamsburg in Brooklyn, New York, Curran and Hanson ask why threatened manufacturers *did not* oppose the actions of the city authorities but rather, ‘tended to respond to the threat of rezoning and displacement with a mixture of resignation and apathy’ (2005 p478). One of the explanations they offer is that, ‘[i]t’s as if the manufacturers *themselves* have come to accept the demise of their industry in this place as inevitable and as a result have not been active advocates for their businesses’ (p478, emphasis added). In other words, such businesses appeared to hold the same idea as most gentrification researchers of industrial displacement being a ‘natural’ part of economic evolution and transition and therefore not subject to political decision-making or contestation.

Some urban scholars have brought a focus on the efforts of economic actors marginalised or excluded by global/world city strategies and plans to contest displacement. Raco and Tunney, for example, state that the clearance of 200 small and medium industrial firms to make way for the 2012 Olympic Games in London ‘did not go uncontested’ (2010 p2083). The threat of displacement mobilised an existing business group to become ‘a vehicle for more significant action’ (*ibid*) to challenge their removal. The group’s main strategy was to challenge its invisibility by ‘contest[ing] the bid’s characterization of the Olympic area as a ‘derelict’ site’ (p2084). However, the imperative to clear the site for the Games limited the scope for contestation and an emphasis on the broader improvements that the Olympic Legacy would bring made it difficult for the affected firms to garner support from other constituencies/actors. Hall (2015a) identifies migrant and ethnic minority retailers at risk of displacement by redevelopment schemes in Rye Lane, Peckham, as political



actors whose everyday acts of resistance make urban space. She explores how the Rye Lane traders not only shape urban economies but also participate in debates about their future development, describing as political their decisions to form an association and to collaborate with a resident-led community planning network, Peckham Vision. In a similar way, Gonzalez and Dawson (2015; see also Gonzalez and Waley 2013) present the displacement, redevelopment and gentrification of 'traditional retail markets' as something which traders, customers and their supporters can and do challenge, for example, by pursuing legal challenges, seeking protected status for markets, campaigning and publicity, forming alliances, gathering information, undertaking alternative consultations and developing alternative plans and creating accountability forums.

In poorer cities, street and informal traders are commonly seen as political actors. A large literature reveals the contested nature of street and informal trading in cities in the global South and the efforts of traders' associations to secure rights and improvements (e.g. Bromley 1978, Brown *et al* 2010, Jones and Varley 1994, Mitullah 2003, Skinner 2008 and 2009). Most associations focus on basic welfare issues but a minority also focus on business issues, including sites of trade and policy advocacy (Mitullah 2003). In many cases, traders' associations have formed in response to threats from hostile state actors (War on Want *et al* 2006 cited in Brown *et al* 2010). Traders' associations may react to the threat of displacement in a variety of ways, including protests, invasion of alternative sites or negotiation or collaboration with local state authorities (Bromley 2000, Dobson and Skinner 2009, Skinner 2008 and 2009). While many traders' associations are excluded from urban development processes and debates, others are able to become powerful and influential (Brown *et al* 2010). For example, on occasion, street traders in Durban (South Africa) have been able to secure the support of other organisations, joining broad campaigns and coalitions and engaging in broader debates about the direction of urban economic development beyond their own interests (Dobson and Skinner 2009, Skinner 2008 and 2009). Some street and informal traders' organisations build relationships regionally, nationally and internationally, including through the StreetNet International alliance (Brown *et al* 2010).

Devlin (2011) argues that city governments and street vendors in the global North have much to learn from cities in the global South, where knowledge has been built about street vendor organising, its contribution to urban economies and how it can be accommodated in more progressive ways. Importantly, he argues, this knowledge has been built through struggle, through the experience of city authorities coming up against organised street vendors and vice versa. Even though these struggles are ongoing throughout the global South, where street vendors and others working in the informal economy continue to be evicted and persecuted by hostile city authorities, they have produced knowledge, resources and networks which others elsewhere can learn from. Devlin records, for example, that in 2007 the largest street vendor organisation in New York, the Street Vendor Project 'became the first US-based affiliate of StreetNet International... travel[ing] to conferences to learn about political struggles and organising tactics from vendors in other parts of the globe' (p63).

In some cities, researchers are developing new narratives about the role, contribution and value of industrial, retail and other threatened economic activities in order to communicate why their loss should be a matter of concern and to make the case for new approaches (e.g. Curran 2007, Ferm and Jones 2016, Hall 2011, 2015a and 2015b, McLean *et al* 2015, Raco and Tunney 2010). I suggest that these accounts begin to articulate the potential for common ground between businesses whose workspaces are under threat and residents whose homes, schools, parks etc may be threatened by development plans which do not recognise or value their contribution to urban economies and urban life more generally. In tracing connections between businesses and residents, and between threatened workspaces and homes, these accounts begin to hint at the new economic subjectivity of 'being-in-common' which lies at the heart of Gibson-Graham's notion of the community economy.

Curran argues that industry plays an important role even in a 'post-industrial' urban economy such as New York, whose 'vibrant and varied manufacturing sector... serves important urban niche markets and provides employment for a less-educated and largely immigrant and minority workforce' (2007 p1428). She presents a wide range of statistics about manufacturing in

New York which help to challenge dominant ideas about its being backward or dead; for example, manufacturing employs 250,000 people, has a higher 'multiplier effect' on the rest of the economy than retail or business services and manufacturers express a high commitment to expand and invest *in situ*. Ferm and Jones present similar evidence to make the case for industry in London, arguing that manufacturing firms still benefit from agglomeration economies, continue to provide goods and services which keep the city functioning, support economic and social resilience, promote environmental sustainability and contribute to making 'a more interesting and vibrant city' (2016 p8). Similarly, Raco and Tunney conclude that the displacement of some 200 industrial firms from the site of the Olympic Park in London represented a loss to the London economy, because 'the products and services provided by the local SMEs [small and medium sized enterprises] play an important part in the supply of key industrial services in east London and provide significant and appropriate employment for local communities' (2010 p2087). Planning scholars are therefore beginning to explore whether affordable workspace policies might enable city governments to both retain existing and develop new industrial activity (e.g. Ferm 2014a and 2016).

Researchers have also used basic quantitative and qualitative interviews and surveys to articulate the value of neglected or threatened shopping streets, markets and industrial estates (e.g. Hall 2011, 2015a and 2015b, McLean *et al* 2015). These narratives support the suggestion of Zukin and colleagues (2009) that the disappearance of stores serving low-income residents is a social problem for which the state has failed to take responsibility. They argue that, 'it is urgent to change public policy that fails to protect long-term, local shops while fostering the growth of new retail clusters' (p62).

Hall's (2011, 2015a and 2015b) research on ethnically diverse high streets in London, specifically the Walworth Road and Peckham Rye Lane, was an important early inspiration for this thesis. She argues that ethnic minority businesses are not best understood through the retail assessments carried out by local authorities which focus on 'turnover and increased land value' rather than 'culture and longevity' (2011 p2576). Hall uses instead finely grained but simple face-to-face surveys and ethnographic observation to bring a focus on

the adaptive strategies of retailers. She emphasises their role in meeting the needs of surrounding ethnically diverse and low-income residents and in building strong relationships with customers in order to sustain their enterprise through periods of economic crisis and population change. She uses survey findings to produce pie charts showing the diversity of activities taking place on these high streets and creatively uses statistics to communicate their surprisingly significant economic value and contribution: for example, Peckham town centre houses more businesses employing more people (2,100 and 13,4000 respectively) than the Olympic retail showcase development, Westfield Stratford (300 retail units and 8,500 permanent jobs) (Gort Scott and UCL 2010 and The Guardian 2011, cited in Peckham Vision 2013).

Recent participatory action research (McLean *et al* 2015) on a commercial street in the former manufacturing area of Mount Dennis, in inner city Toronto also intervenes in urban development processes by producing alternative economic narratives. The researchers worked in collaboration with neighbourhood organisations to 'generate a picture of the social role small businesses play in neighbourhoods with populations at risk of displacement' (p1288). The narratives they developed focus on 'the labor of social reproduction' rather than social encounter, building on research which has 'demonstrated how low-margin shops develop informal networks of bartering, trading, and gifting to support one another; or how they furnish spaces of recreation, assembly and collective consumption for low-income communities at a time when state actors are rolling back social protections' (p1293). They reveal that Mount Dennis' commercial spaces are providing important social spaces for elderly residents, youth and new immigrants and free access to services and 'off-the-books' short-term employment, training and mentoring, for example.

These narratives show how threatened economic activities are productive and valued by others, rather than being the natural and inevitable losers of economic evolution. Importantly, these accounts extend across divides between economy/society and economy/community by articulating the value of threatened economic activity in providing, for instance, decent, accessible jobs, access to specific goods and services and a sense of vibrancy in urban

localities. Connections between different firms and between residents and firms become more visible, beginning to articulate common interests and concerns between residents and businesses excluded or threatened by global/world city development models. The threat of (commercial) displacement may therefore have the potential to draw marginalised economic actors into alliances and coalitions with others fighting for more inclusive approaches to urban development, such as housing activists and anti-gentrification campaigners. By coming together to oppose commercial displacement, such alliances may be able to build new ways of relating to each other as political subjects of diverse urban economies which we make ourselves in multiple, interdependent ways. Thus, while commercial displacement may threaten diverse economic actors, I also argue that it may mobilise new political subjects and subjectivities and open up new spaces of political decision making from which alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban development may emerge.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

The transformation of a concept that began life as critical urban research – the global/world city - into a mainstream urban development model raises substantial questions about the performativity and politics of urban knowledge. This chapter has argued that there is a need for urban researchers to move beyond the critical analysis of capitalism and focus on the contested nature of urban economies. If the global/world city view plays a role in bringing global/world cities into being, the radical potential of economic performativity suggests it is also a site of conflict and struggle for alternative approaches to urban economic development. Critical researchers can contribute to this struggle by producing performative resources which bring the diversity of urban economies back into view. From this perspective, the diversity of economic interests and actors available to contest city strategies and plans and develop alternative, more inclusive approaches is made visible. I have suggested that, although plans and development proposals which do not recognise the diversity of urban economies may threaten to displace small businesses, industrial firms, migrant and ethnic minority retailers, and market, street and informal traders, they can also mobilise them to form alliances and coalitions from which alternative, more inclusive approaches may be developed.

While this chapter has not ignored the power and dominance of the global/world city view, it has suggested that urban scholars focus their critical attention on the contested nature of urban economies. Like Robinson's notion of ordinary cities (2006; see also Amin and Graham 1997), contested urban economies is a concept which is able to speak from and to all cities. Its central innovation is to use economic performativity and Gibson-Graham's economy politics to connect the economy with politics within urban studies, inserting diverse economic actors into accounts of urban development processes and their politics, and conflict and struggle into its ways of thinking about urban economies. I use these performative resources in Chapter 3 to explore the diversity of London's economy, revealing sites and instances of conflict and contestation in its evolving global city growth model.

This is not, of course, to suggest that the global/world city approach and the institutions and interests that support it can simply be 'imagined away' (cf Samers' (2005) and Tonkiss' (2008) critique of diverse economies research). As I explain in Chapter 4, the performativity of knowledge not only demands that researchers take care of and responsibility for the knowledge they produce but also opens up a wide range of approaches which extend across and challenge traditional boundaries between research and activism. It is precisely because of the power of the global/world city view that I have chosen to work in collaboration with some of London's emerging economic alliances to challenge and develop alternatives to the plans and development proposals that threaten the diversity of London's economy. The analytical resources developed in this chapter - and applied to London in the next - provide the necessary preliminary step of bringing these nascent mobilisations of diverse economic actors into view as a potential object of performative research and action in the first place.

### 3 London's contested global city growth model

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores conflicts and contestations over London's evolving global city growth model, focussing on the period of Boris Johnson's Mayoralty (2008 to 2016). Although it is certainly the case that activists face considerable challenges in taking on the consensus and power that support and maintain London's global city growth model (Edwards 2010b, Just Space 2011), to ignore their efforts in scholarly accounts would have the effect of marginalising them further. As the profound influence of the global/world city view in London makes it particularly difficult to identify or imagine alternatives (Robinson 2002 and 2006), I use the analytical resources developed in the previous chapter to identify specific instances of conflict and contestation both inside and outside the Greater London Authority (GLA) and the most powerful sectors of London's economy, drawing on the policy analysis and interviews conducted as part of this PhD research (Section 4.2 and Appendix 2, Part Ai) as well as existing academic literature. I show narratives about London's economy to be a site of present, active and ongoing struggle by different groups and sectors seeking to represent themselves and their interests.

The idea of London's first Mayor, Ken Livingstone, that the strategic prioritisation of London's global city functions could be of benefit to all Londoners (Gordon 2003, Livingstone in Massey 2007a, Thornley *et al* 2002) was strongly challenged from the start, not only in academic circles (e.g. Massey 2001, 2006 and 2007b) but also in policy debates. Broad and diverse criticism of the draft of the first London Plan resulted in its 'overwhelming prioritisation of the financial City and its attendant sectors' being rather more muted in its final version (Massey 2006 p67). During Johnson's two Mayoral terms (2008-12 and 2012-16), I suggest that the global financial crisis and the government's austerity agenda, and the extension of London's housing crisis into an escalating workspace crisis further undermined the possibilities for inclusive economic development in London. At the same time, however, these threats resulted in an increased interest in economic diversity and diversification strategies within the GLA and the financial services, big business and property

development groups and interests it has tended to ally itself with most strongly. These threats also mobilised a wide range of community groups, business groups and others to enter into strategic planning debates for the first time, arguing that the Mayor and the GLA recognise and support the contribution of diverse economic activities such as small businesses, industrial firms, market traders and migrant and ethnic retailers to London's economy as part of a more inclusive approach to economic development. In these ways, the apparent dominance of London's global city growth model is shown in this chapter to be uncertain, unstable, partial and provisional, open to contestation and struggle.

### **3.2 Can the global city be a city for all?<sup>4</sup>**

The global/world city concept has its origins not only in Friedmann and Wolff (1982), Sassen (1991) and other critical analyses of the role of cities in commanding and controlling capitalism (see Section 2.3) but also in particular places. During the 1980s and 1990s, the various business partnerships, organisations and government bodies which had filled the gap left by the abolition of the Greater London Council (GLC) by then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1986, developed and promoted the idea that London's ongoing success and competitiveness demanded the strategic prioritisation of its very particular international functions (Budd and Edwards 1997, Clark 2015, Clark and Moonen 2012, Edwards 2001, Gordon 1999, Robinson 2016, Syrett and Baldcock 2003, Thornley *et al* 2002). The London Planning Advisory Committee's report, *London: World City*, in 1991, played a significant role in influencing the formation of the *London First* business lobby group<sup>5</sup> and the Conservative government and Labour opposition proposals for new metropolitan governance arrangements for London in their manifestos for the 1992 and 1997 national elections (Bailey 2009, Clark 2015, Clark and Moonen 2012, Gordon and Travers 2010, Syrett 2006, Syrett and Baldcock 2003). The GLA was established by Tony Blair's incoming Labour government through the GLA Act 1999 as part of a broader programme to create regional development

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<sup>4</sup> This section title is drawn from the title of a blog post I wrote about a public event I organised with and for the Just Space Economy and Planning group (JSEP 2014b) which aimed to open up debate on London's economy by reconnecting it with a broad range of concerns, in particular people's own needs, desires and experiences, as discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>5</sup> London First is an influential organisation representing 'the capital's leading employers in key sectors', in particular property (London First nd).



agencies, elected regional assemblies and Mayors in the belief that this would help to secure globally competitive regions throughout the UK as well as the New Labour emphasis on greater citizen and business involvement in decision-making (Syrett and Baldcock 2003, Thornley *et al* 2002).

The various private and public sector organisations and partnerships which emerged in London in the absence of a metropolitan government actively shaped the formation and early priorities of the GLA. Research highlights the continuities resulting from the transfer of staff and agendas from previous public bodies (e.g. the London Planning Advisory Committee and the London Research Centre) to the GLA, the involvement of existing business representative and lobby groups and public-private partnerships in the business-led boards set up to advise the Mayor, in newly established regular bilateral meetings with the Mayor and his senior officials and the active and effective lobbying work of key business groups (Bailey 2009, Gordon 1999 and 2003, Syrett and Baldcock 2003, Thornley *et al* 2002). London's first Mayor, Ken Livingstone, surprised many in his support for the financial services and property development sectors and his strong endorsement of the vision of London as global/world city which had emerged during the 1980s and 1990s, offering key roles and privileged access to the City of London Corporation<sup>6</sup> and London First, amongst others (Edwards 2009, Gordon 2003, Massey 2007a, McNeill 2002, Syrett 2006). This support stood in stark contrast to his approach as leader of the Greater London Council (GLC). In this way, securing, driving and supporting London's growth became the main organising logic of efforts to govern London's economy under the new Mayor of London and GLA (Massey 2007a). Urban researchers suggest that the acceptance of global/world city approaches shifted attention away from and limited action on social and environmental concerns (Raco and Henderson 2009, Syrett 2006, Syrett and Baldcock 2003) and that a consolidating urban growth regime 'neutralise[d] dissent and critique as part of a general 'hollowing out' of democratic politics in London' (Harris 2008 p297; see also Moreno 2014).

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<sup>6</sup> In addition to its role as local authority for the City of London, the Corporation also exists to 'support and promote London as the world's leading financial and business centre' (nd np).

Livingstone's decision to pursue a pro-business, global-city-oriented agenda as Mayor of London was not *only* a result of the emergence and consolidation of an urban growth regime, however. The limited resources and powers devolved to the Mayor and the GLA had a significant influence on Livingstone's approach of supporting the growth of global city functions as a means of delivering improvements for all and promoting high density private development in order to extract resources to fund policy priorities through planning gain agreements negotiated with developers (Gordon 2003, Harris 2008, Keddie and Tonkiss 2010, McNeill 2002, Raco and Henderson 2009, Syrett 2006, Thornley *et al* 2002). In an interview with Doreen Massey (2007a), Livingstone explained his view that he had aligned City Hall with financial services, property developers and big businesses because he felt they provided the best prospect of achieving a range of public policy ambitions in the absence of powers to tax and redistribute wealth within London, citing the commitments he had secured from developers to deliver renewable energy and affordable housing schemes. Gordon (2003) has also argued that global city arguments were particularly visible in the first London Plan because, as well as a strategic planning document, it also served as a tool for lobbying central Government for further investment in transport infrastructure and affordable housing.

Livingstone's idea that the strategic prioritisation of London's global city functions could be of benefit to all Londoners was challenged in both academic and policy debates, however. Edwards (2002), Gordon (1999a) and Massey (2001, 2006 and 2007b) argued that London's socioeconomic problems were not paradoxical to its success, but rather a product of it. Edwards described London's economy as 'simultaneously a wealth machine and a poverty machine', tracing how poverty and inequality are produced through the operation of London's markets for labour, transport, land and housing and commercial property (2002 p29). Massey argued that London faces a crisis of reproduction which calls into question whether 'a city with such inequalities within it [can] be deemed to have succeeded' (2007b p61). If London's problems are produced by its particular kind of economic success rather than some unfortunate and paradoxical byproduct of it, Edwards and Massey argued that Londoners should think about whether this was the kind of economic growth they wanted (Edwards 2002, Massey 2001 and 2007b).

During Boris Johnson's Mayoralty, Livingstone's global city growth model was stripped of much of its redistributive intentions and possibilities. Johnson significantly weakened targets for housing in Outer London and affordable housing requirements for developers more generally, while national public funding for affordable housing was withdrawn under austerity. In parallel, developers claimed that it was no longer 'viable' for them to deliver affordable housing alongside private housing while still extracting the profits to which they had become accustomed (see 35% Campaign 2014, Christophers 2014). The new Mayor's very different priorities, in particular funding for major infrastructure projects such as Crossrail, greatly reduced the flow of social and other affordable housing arising through private developers' projects; the reduction in national funding for social housing from 2010 and the impact of the crisis further constrained what remained of the Livingstone approach. These changes largely ended the major public gain that his support for and partnership with the financial services industry and property developers was meant to deliver. At the same time, higher than anticipated population growth figures for London prompted new rounds of policy development and public debate about whether and how London can continue to accommodate its own growth. A range of business organisations, including London First, the Federation of Small Businesses (FSB) and the London Enterprise Panel (LEP),<sup>7</sup> as well as the GLA, began to see London's housing crisis as presenting a major risk to London's economic growth and competitiveness.

Johnson's response was to introduce further flexibilities to the London Plan to deliver more housing in the short-term (including switching emphasis from low rent to middle-market and higher end output as well as several flexibilities to encourage the conversion of 'surplus' industrial and retail land to housing (see Chapter 5)), while at the same time initiating new work to explore

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<sup>7</sup> The LEP was established in February 2012 as part of the national Coalition government's decision to abolish Regional Development Agencies and replace them with business-led Local Enterprise Partnerships based on functional economic regions whose development would be best secured by ensuring a stronger role for business in policy making (LEP nd). Special arrangements were put in place for London through negotiation between national government and the Mayor of London together with the London boroughs and major business groups, resulting in the Mayor retaining statutory responsibilities which in other regions were devolved to the new business-led bodies, with the LEP taking an advisory role on economic development strategy (Interviews with Mark Kleinman (GLA) and Jamie Izzard (GLA and the LEP); see also Mayor of London and London Councils 2010, London Enterprise Panel 2014a). In December 2016, the LEP was relaunched and renamed as the London Enterprise Action Partnership, by London's third Mayor, Sadiq Khan.

new approaches to delivering and financing infrastructure and housing to support London's longer-term growth (London Assembly Planning Committee 2013, London Finance Commission 2013, Mayor of London 2013a, 2014a and 2014b). While these longer-term debates and developments continue at the time of writing, the measures introduced by Johnson to deliver more housing in the short-term stretched London's existing growth model to the limit. The Planning Inspector reviewing these proposals and the responses to them raised concerns that the new flexibilities would have 'significant and potentially serious implications... for existing communities which will have to face the consequences of intensifying development' *and* that they 'will not deliver sufficient homes to meet objectively assessed need', making it clear that he was only recommending the proposed changes be adopted on the basis that a full review of the London Plan be begun immediately and because not adopting the changes would result in even less housing being delivered (The Planning Inspectorate 2014 p15). Under Boris Johnson's Mayoralty, then, serious cracks emerged in London's global city growth model which presented new opportunities for contestation and alternatives to emerge.

Debates about who benefits from London's global city growth model have quietly continued through the formal public examinations required to finalise each new version of the London Plan. Unlike other Mayoral strategies, the London Plan is subject to the same intense public scrutiny process required by legislation (Town and Country Planning Act 1968) for all development plan documents. This means that the Mayor and the GLA are required not only to consult on the draft plan but also to submit their proposals for examination by an independent planning inspector who is required to assess their compliance with legislation and national policy. This process affords citizens a further means of making representations, firstly through further written rounds of consultation and secondly through public hearings known as Examination in Public (EiP). Possibilities for direct, democratic, citizen participation in spatial planning in London therefore exceed those in other spheres of public policy, albeit limited by the time, knowledge and resources needed to take them up (Edwards 2001 and 2010b). Over the years, these opportunities have motivated increasing numbers of grassroots, community, voluntary, independent and business groups and organisations to participate in the EiP process, mobilising

metropolitan, borough and local networking and a host of other campaigns, projects and initiatives beyond the EiP, including on the economic issues which are my focus here (Brown *et al* 2014, Lipietz *et al* 2014).

Few grassroots groups participated in the EiP on Ken Livingstone's first London Plan in 2003, however, contributing to a debate that felt 'intellectual', disconnected from the knowledge and concerns of London's citizens (Lee in Lipietz *et al* 2014 p217). Having observed the London Tenants Federation (LTF) giving evidence at the EiP on the Early Alterations to the London Plan in 2006, Marian Larragy (then a worker at the London Civic Forum) approached LTF and Richard Lee in particular (who had represented LTF at the 2006 EiP) with a proposal for a small funded initiative aimed at increasing grassroots' involvement in the subsequent EiP, on the 2007 Further Alterations to the London Plan (*ibid*).<sup>8</sup> Richard Lee identifies this moment as 'the start of some sort of alliance developing around the London Plan' which went on to become the Just Space network (*ibid*). Just Space's success in mobilising community groups at the EiP attracted the interest of a member of Livingstone's team, who encouraged Marian Larragy and Richard Lee to submit a funding application to the GLA to support further work. This funding provided the 'glue' which enabled Just Space, with Richard Lee taking up a key coordinating role as its paid worker, to develop further its activities to support community and voluntary groups in participating in London Plan EiPs. These efforts culminated in Just Space supporting 64 community groups in participating in the EiP for the new London Plan prepared for the second Mayor, Boris Johnson, in 2010 (Lipietz *et al* 2014). Michael Edwards, a member of the Kings Cross Railway Lands Group and founder member of Just Space network as well as a planning academic at UCL (and co-supervisor of this PhD research), suggests that while Just Space's efforts 'have not yet resulted in 'the substantial modification of the Plan: the consensus is too strong and the power too concentrated behind it', it has been able to secure 'innovations in the process' which have opened it up in various ways (2010a p68).

Just Space has had particular success in mobilising participation in the London Plan process on equalities, regeneration, housing and environmental

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<sup>8</sup> Richard Lee (Just Space), personal communication, 4 August 2017.

issues (Brown *et al* 2014). While participation in detailed economic issues has been more limited, critique of the global city growth model underpinning the London Plan has been a central aspect of Just Space's engagement. Edwards (2001, 2002, 2006 and 2010b) has played an important role in contributing to this work, setting out his critical engagement with the London Plan not only in the pages of academic journals but also in the consultation and public examination process on the Plan itself. With the support of Edwards and the Just Space network more broadly, at least 17 groups and individuals raised economic issues in their responses to the consultation on Boris Johnson's new London Plan in 2010, proposing (amongst other things) that it should recognise the role and contribution of the community and voluntary sector and of local economies, address deprivation and inequality and support the growth of a low carbon economy.<sup>9</sup> Two Just Space members, Wards Corner Community Coalition (WCC) and Friends of Queen's Market (FoQM), had some success at the EiP in securing policy changes to require local planning authorities to support London's markets, albeit to a limited extent (FoQM 2010, Mayor of London 2011, WCC 2010). In the next section, I focus on the achievements of the Just Space network in opening up debate on alternative economic growth scenarios by wrestling the GLA's employment projections out of expert-oriented technical seminars and reports and into the more political space of the public examination of Boris Johnson's London Plan in 2010. These employment projections are part of a broader suite of economic models and metrics which I argue play a role in bringing London's global city growth model into being while at the same time opening up a little-explored zone of contestation and struggle for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development.

### **3.3 Challenging the employment projections underpinning the London Plan**

The GLA's employment projections (Figure 3.1) attracted significant debate and challenge during the EiP on Boris Johnson's draft London Plan in 2010. Together with the GLA's population projections, the employment projections are central to the London Plan because they inform targets for delivery of new housing and workspace to meet additional demand. The employment

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<sup>9</sup> Author's analysis of responses available at [justspace2010.wordpress.com](http://justspace2010.wordpress.com).



*Figure 3.1 The GLA's long-run employment projections, debated during the 2010 London Plan EiP. The projections are based on projecting forward historic growth rates. Source: GLA Economics (2010a p70), with permission.*

projections also feed into the industrial, office and retail reviews that inform the Plan's employment land and retail policies, influencing the extent to which they protect existing industrial, office and retail space from conversion to higher value uses, in particular housing. They are produced by GLA Economics (2010a, 2010b and 2013) by projecting forward historic growth rates, more specifically the average rate of growth in Gross Value Added (GVA) and the ratio between GVA and employment (a measure of productivity) since the 1980s.<sup>10</sup> This calculation produces a future employment growth rate of 0.7 per cent per annum.<sup>11</sup> A similar method is then used to produce sector-level and borough-level employment projections. For GLA Economics the projections are useful in 'simplify[ing] everything to reveal what the market is driving', making it unnecessary 'to have to understand all the minutiae'.<sup>12</sup>

While there had been concerns that the growth assumptions underpinning previous versions of the London Plan had been substantially

<sup>10</sup> To be precise, the productivity growth rate figure of 1.8 per cent is arrived at by adding together half of the medium term trend and half of the long term trend (GLA Economics 2013 p94).

<sup>11</sup> Employment growth rate = GVA growth rate – productivity growth rate  
 = 2.5 per cent – 1.8 per cent  
 = 0.7 per cent per annum

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Matthew Waite (GLA Economics).

inflated in order to make the case to central Government for further investment in infrastructure (Buck *et al* 2002, Gordon 2003), these concerns were much more widely spread in 2010 thanks to the financial crisis and the government's austerity programme (Gordon 2010). At least 12 respondents included reference to alternative growth scenarios, in which historic trends were not simply assumed to continue, including the Federation of Small Businesses, several local councils and sub-regional partnerships and professional planning bodies as well as the Just Space network and its members (Gordon 2010; see also Edwards 2010a, Fell 2010a, Just Space 2009 and 2010a, London 21 2010). While the GLA justified its approach with reference to the risk of under-estimating infrastructure needs and the role of the London Plan in lobbying central Government for investment in London, Edwards suggested this approach was not sound and urged the Mayor to 'unite Londoners around a radical strategy to deal with the economic and environmental crisis through the pursuit of broadly defined growth of social output' (2010b np).

Edwards (2010a) and others (e.g. Fell 2010a, Just Space 2009, London 21 2010, Women's Design Service 2010) questioned the GLA's primary focus on securing continued economic growth as measured by GVA, highlighting that this would not address environmental or social goals, and pushed for a broader suite of goals, such as well-being and quality of life. Just Space (2010a) appealed to London's status as a 'leading world city' to show leadership on how cities could secure a transformation to a low carbon and more equal economy. Fell pushed the GLA to take a more interventionist approach to steer London's economy towards green industries, community and third sector organisations and enterprises and outer London. Rather than simply extending forward existing long-term trends, Just Space argued for a much more finely-grained and interventionist approach, in order 'to assess the ability of the component parts of the economy... to contribute to a green London economy, to economic recovery and the reduction of poverty... more weight needs to be given to a diverse economy, analysed in much finer sectoral divisions than hitherto' (2009 p2). Such an approach, Just Space members argued, would include focusing on nurturing the 'dull and boring' / 'non-sexy' sectors as well as 'new and emerging' / 'glamorous' sectors, raising productivity and incomes throughout the



economy (Edwards 2010a np, Fell 2010a). Just Space (2010c) successfully lobbied for these issues to be included in the matters for debate at the EiP.

During the EiP, however, the GLA resisted calls from Just Space members for alternative scenarios to be considered to take account of the economic crisis, upcoming cuts to public services and investment and climate change. In May 2010, just before the EiP began, GLA Economics had published a paper on *Scenarios, planning and economic outlooks*, which set out their view that while scenario testing could be useful early on in the policy development process ‘to test risk and evaluate possible alternative policy options’ (GLA Economics 2010b p10), they could not be incorporated into the London Plan because of the requirement to provide certainty. Instead, if radical change to forecast growth rates was to occur, this would be incorporated into future versions of the London Plan through the ‘plan-monitor-manage’ approach (p13). The GLA’s forecasts were assessed by an ‘independent outsider’, Paul Omerod, who found them to be ‘the most likely’ (GLA Economics 2010b p20). During the EiP, the GLA issued a further note on the issue of the impact of public spending cuts on forecast growth rates – arguing both that the impact would be negligible and that there was insufficient information available about the planned cuts to assess the impact - to which a number of people responded when it became clear that a commitment from the Planning Inspectorate Panel to return to the debate at the end of the EiP had been withdrawn (Edwards 2010a, Just Space 2010b). Giving up on pushing their argument that alternative growth scenarios and aims be considered, Edwards (2010c), Fell (2010b), Stevenson (2010), the former joint head of the London Plan team under Ken Livingstone’s Mayoralty, and others focused on attempting to convince the Planning Inspectorate Panel to recommend that the GLA consider and mitigate the impact of public spending cuts on the Plan’s policies. Ultimately, however, none of the Just Space comments on the economic forecasts were accepted by the Panel or resulted in any changes to the Plan or the forecasts on which it was based (Mayor of London 2011, The Planning Inspectorate 2011).<sup>13</sup> In a statement made following the publication of the 2011 London Plan, Just Space

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<sup>13</sup> The Just Space network secured a range of other changes to the 2010 London Plan, however, for example the inclusion of the London Tenants Federation’s definition of lifetime neighbourhoods (Lipietz *et al* 2014) and the policies to support markets and small shops described in the previous section.

confirmed that the network was 'critical of the London Plan model for encouraging market led development under the guise of promoting London as a "world class city"' and commented that '[u]nless there is a proper analysis of the model and its detrimental impact on the majority of Londoners, the capital will remain "world class" only for an elite... there is a serious need for a rethink' (2011 p1).

While the efforts of Just Space to challenge London's economic growth model did not result in changes to the London Plan or the global city growth model underpinning it, they succeeded in keeping open a space to debate questions about where growth would come from, whether this sort of growth was desirable and, ultimately, what London's economy was for. While the GLA has attempted to restrict debate on these issues to the less public and more expert-oriented spaces of pre-examination, technical seminars and reports (e.g. Edwards 2010a, Just Space 2010b), their efforts have not entirely succeeded as they have regularly spilled over into the more public and political space of the EiP. In order to establish the possibility of alternative growth pathways, Just Space had to wrestle with rather technical and obscure economic models and analysis, taking whatever opportunities they could to challenge London's global city growth model.

The complex and technical debates about London's economy were, unsurprisingly, rather inaccessible to most Just Space members. Participating groups and individuals faced substantial difficulties in making representations on the economic aspects of the Plan and in debating them at the EiP. Reflecting on their experiences in giving evidence about the contribution of markets, WCC and FoQM reported that they had not felt like equal members in a debate dominated by major supermarkets and developers who appeared to have a good dialogue and relationship with the GLA team.<sup>14</sup> They had found it difficult to challenge what felt like very strategic and high level economic aspects of the Plan on the basis of particular, local experiences. Overall, despite their success in securing some small policy provisions in support of markets, WCC found the

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<sup>14</sup> A1 01/02/2012. This numbering system is used throughout this thesis and relates to the identifiers I created to identify items within an action research archive that I created through my involvement and collaboration with Just Space and the other groups I worked with. The numbering system is explained in Section 4.6.

EiP to be a disempowering and frustrating process. These experiences motivated Just Space to form a dedicated Economy and Planning group (JSEP) in order to make connections between community groups, a range of economic actors and researchers working on alternative analyses of London's economy. The hope was to mobilise a stronger challenge to the global city growth model underpinning the London Plan in future EiPs.<sup>15</sup> While the efforts of Just Space to challenge the GLA's employment projections underpinning the 2011 London Plan might easily have been ignored or dismissed, they did in fact motivate the network radically to extend its organising work on economic issues.

In the remainder of this section I further probe additional elements of the economic analyses underpinning the London Plan in order to begin to extend the zone of contestation and struggle for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development opened up by Just Space during the 2010 London Plan EiP. I focus on the urban economic growth model and associated statistics that GLA Economics uses to identify the sectors and activities that will drive the growth predicted by its employment projections. This analysis is set out in Chapter 1 (*Trade and London's economic specialisations*) of the 200-page Economic Evidence Base (EEB) prepared by the GLA's internal economic analysis unit, GLA Economics, to 'provide an understanding of the economic forces impacting on London' to inform Boris Johnson's new London Plan as well as his transport and economic development strategies (2010a p9).<sup>16</sup>

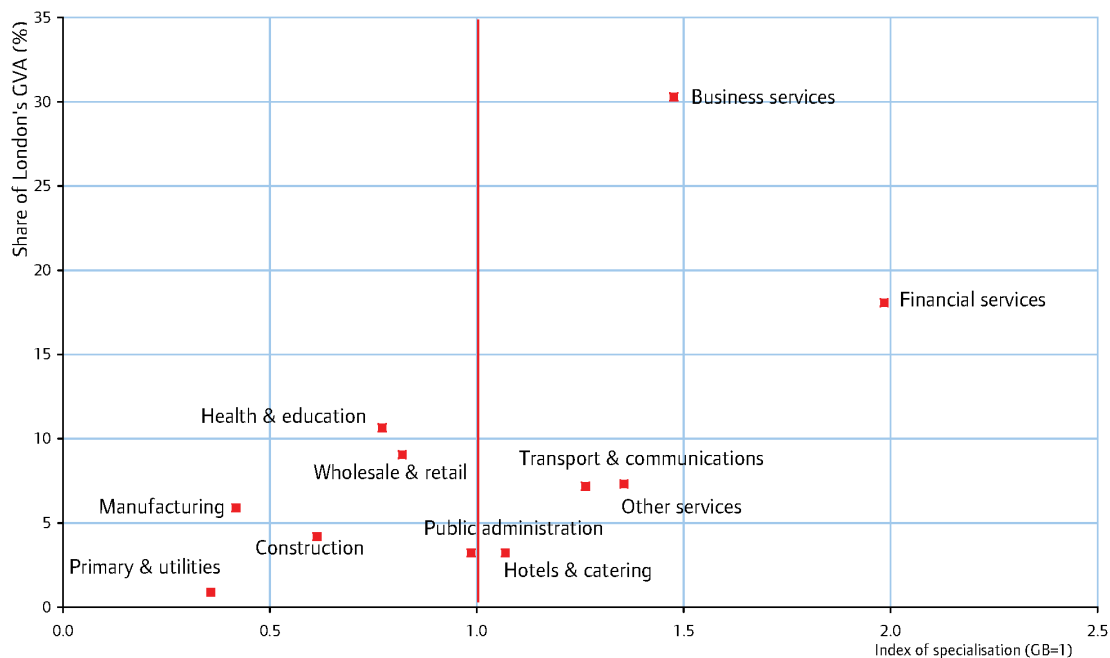
GLA Economics places particular emphasis on those sectors in which London is particularly specialised because, informed by particular theories about how urban economies grow through trade, they use relative specialisation

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<sup>15</sup> A1 23/03/13, 05/06/13, 22/07/13 and 28/11/13; see also Brown et al 2014.

<sup>16</sup> A new, 700+ page edition of the EEB was published by GLA Economics (2016) while I was writing up this thesis, in November 2016, in order to provide 'consistent data for strategy development processes', in particular the new London Plan and transport and economic development strategies being prepared for London's third Mayor, Sadiq Khan, who took office in May 2016. In this chapter, I focus on the previous version of the EEB because the analysis I present here aims further to extend the space of political debate opened up by Just Space in the 2010 London Plan EiP. The subsequent efforts of Just Space to increase the involvement of diverse economic actors in strategic planning debates through a dedicated Economy and Planning group (JSEP), which I supported through this research, prompted GLA Economics to seek JSEP's input on the 2016 EEB (see summary of 'what happened next' in Appendix 3). While the new edition included more information about the diversity of London's economy and the increasing pressure on its reservoir of low-cost workspace, JSEP (2016) remained critical of its continued reliance on the same, very narrowly-framed, economic models and metrics to think about London's economic growth as were used in the 2010 EEB. While this Section deals only with the 2010 EEB, it therefore also applies to the 2016 EEB.

in international exports as a proxy for international competitiveness. These theories are informed by Ricardo's concept of comparative advantage, created in 1817 to explain the benefits of trade between nations. In Ricardo's theory, total production and consumption increases if each country specialises in the goods and services it is most efficient at producing - more specifically, in those goods and services where it has the greatest labour productivity advantage relative to other countries (a comparative advantage), *even if* other countries can produce those goods and services more efficiently. Applied to cities, Ricardo's theory suggests that urban economies will grow if they specialise in those goods and services in which they have a comparative advantage. GLA Economics therefore places particular emphasis on those goods and services in which London is particularly specialised relative to other places, using Ricardo's ideas to 'read off' that these are the goods and services in which London has developed a comparative advantage. It is through becoming specialised in these sectors and sub-sectors that the London economy has grown and, furthermore, it is through continuing to specialise in its areas of comparative advantage that it will grow in future.



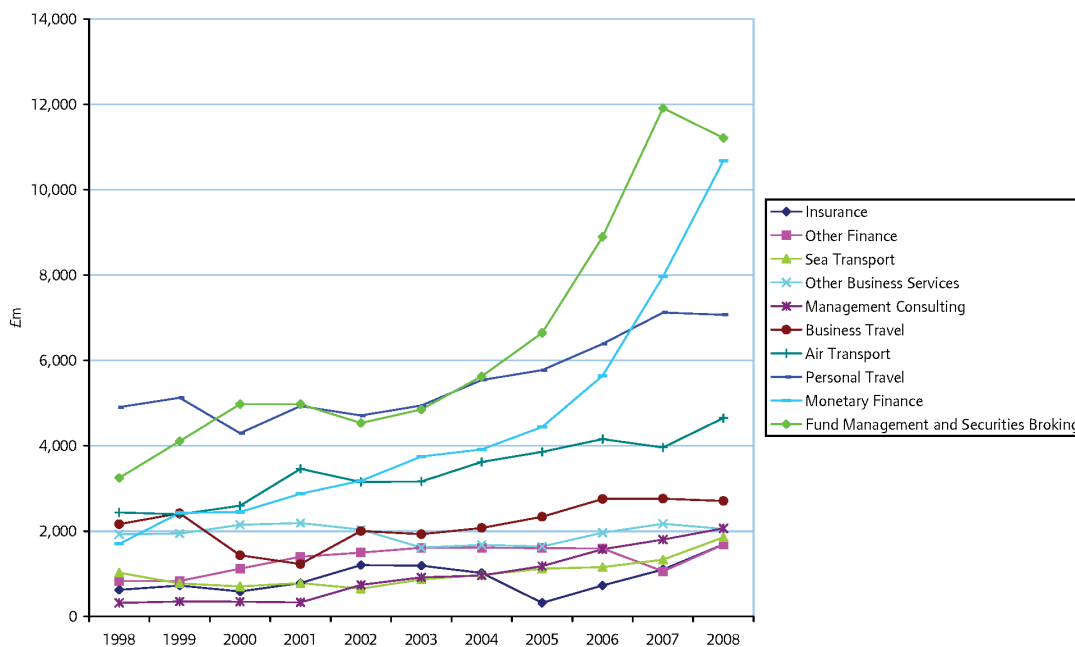
*Figure 3.2 Employment by sector relative to the UK ('index of specialisation', x-axis) against share of London's GVA as a percentage (y-axis). London's financial services and business services stand out. Source: GLA Economics (2010a p16), with permission.*

	Canada	France	Germany	Italy	Japan	UK	US
Transport	0.6	1.2	0.8	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.1
Travel	0.6	1.4	0.7	1.5	0.3	0.9	1.4
Communications	1.1	1.2	0.7	1.1	0.3	1.5	1.2
Construction	0.1	1.3	1.7	1.2	1.8	0.1	0.6
Insurance	1.4	0.7	1.1	0.5	0.1	3.2	0.7
Financial	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	3.8	1.4
Computer & information	1.2	0.5	1.3	0.2	0.3	2.6	0.9
Royalties & licence fees	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.1	1.2	1.1	2.3
Other business services	0.6	1	0.7	1.1	0.6	1.8	1.2
Personal, cultural & recreational services	1.5	1.1	0.3	0.5	0.1	1.3	2
Government	0.4	0.2	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.9	2.1

*Figure 3.3 Service exports by value for the UK and other G7 nations and the US, relative to the G7 average. A figure greater than 1 indicates relative export specialisation in that sector. The UK's relative specialisation in insurance, financial and computer & information service exports stands out particularly strongly. Source: GLA Economics (2010a p15), with permission.*

The GLA's model of urban economic growth therefore results in an emphasis on the sectors and activities in which London is *most* specialised relative to other places. A series of tables and charts is presented showing the relative specialisation of London's economy across different sectors and sub-sectors compared to the UK as a whole, other regions or other countries. London's industrial structure in terms of employee jobs is compared to the UK as a whole (Figure 3.2; x-axis) and the sectoral share of GVA plotted on the same chart (Figure 3.2; y-axis). Here, the specialisation of London's employment in business services and financial services stands out, further emphasised by their significantly larger share of GVA than any other sectors.

The emphasis on growth through trade results in a particular focus on international trade, including a table comparing service exports by value in the UK compared to other EU countries (Figure 3.3) and a graph showing growth in service exports by sector for London (Figure 3.4). On the former, the UK's exports in financial services, insurance and computer and IT services stand out and are highlighted as sectors of relative specialisation. On the latter, the rapid growth in the value of service exports in Monetary Finance and Fund Management & Securities Broking between 2004 and 2007 stands out. The model of urban economic growth deployed by the GLA thus results in an analysis that identifies particular internationally-oriented financial and business services as the source of future economic prosperity in London.

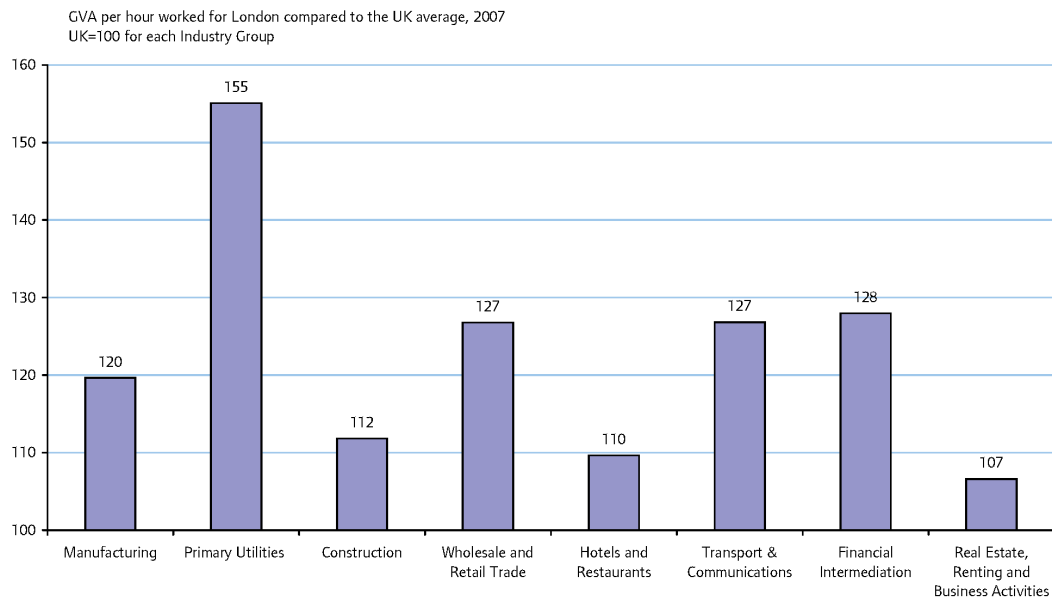


*Figure 3.4 Value of London's service exports by sector, 1998-2008. The rapid growth of Fund Management & Securities Broking and Monetary Finance services exports since 2004 stands out. Source: GLA Economics (2010a p16), with permission.*

In focussing on relative specialisation in international exports by value, the urban economic growth model used by GLA Economics draws policy-makers' attention towards its most exceptional elements. However, some of the sectors in which London is most specialised relative to other places are responsible for surprisingly few jobs. For example, the sub-sector in which London is most specialised relative to the UK, security broking and fund management, provides just 1.2 per cent of London jobs (GLA Economics 2010a

p16). While the employment projections prepared for Johnson's first London Plan included a small increase in financial services employment, this prediction was adjusted to a decrease of 22,000 jobs in the projections prepared for Boris Johnson's proposed Further Alterations to the London Plan in 2014 as the impact of the global financial crisis became clearer. Some of the activities in which London is most specialised, and which are therefore seen as most important to London's future growth, are not likely to contribute much to the growth predicted by GLA Economics' employment projections. The majority of that growth will necessarily come from other parts of London's economy, yet these sectors are not sufficiently exceptional or unusual to be 'picked out' by GLA Economics' urban economic growth model. This model locates the engine of London's economic growth in its narrow international specialisms, limiting the rest of London's economy to a secondary or subsidiary role in supporting other businesses or fulfilling residents' needs. In this way, the majority of London's economy is absent from GLA Economics' urban economic growth model.

The EEB does acknowledge the diversity of London's economy in various other places, however. For example, Chapter 2 on 'The spatial nature of London's economy' discusses not only the concentration of 'specialised, globally competitive activities' in central London but also the larger employment clusters in outer London town centres, for example Croydon, Heathrow, Uxbridge, Bromley and Kingston. Chapter 3 on 'London's attractiveness to business and people' includes a chart which shows that all sectors are more productive - measured by GVA per hour worked - in London than in the UK as a whole (Figure 3.5). And Chapter 6 on 'The outlook for economic growth' emphasises the importance of sectors and factors beyond financial services to London's long-term prosperity, at a time when the impact of the global financial crisis on London's economy remained uncertain. Each of these analyses begins to acknowledge a role for a greater diversity of activities in contributing to London's economic prosperity than that provided by the urban economic growth model GLA Economics presents in Chapter 1. However, GLA Economics does not discuss or reconcile these perspectives in relation to each other. Rather, they are kept apart in a linear series of individual chapters, none of which is ultimately permitted to challenge the primacy of the 'specialised, globally competitive activities' which are the focus of Chapter 1. For GLA Economics,



*Figure 3.5 Gross Value Added (GVA) per hour worked in London compared to the UK average, 2007. All sectors are more productive on this measure in London than in the UK as a whole. Source: GLA Economics (2010a p47), with permission.*

then, London's economy may be diverse but its future success depends on its internationally-oriented specialisms.

This analysis suggests that the success of Just Space in opening up debate on London's economy and alternative economic development strategies at the 2010 London Plan EiP could be further extended by challenging the narrow focus of GLA Economics' urban economic growth model. As I argued in Chapter 2, urban researchers can contribute to this struggle by producing resources which bring the diversity of London's economy back into view. In the next section, I therefore gather together evidence and analyses which explore the role and contribution of diverse economic activities beyond the narrow confines of GLA Economics' urban economic growth model. These performative resources include research commissioned or conducted by academics, other GLA departments and business groups, revealing a growing interest in economic diversity and diversification strategies in the aftermath of the global financial crisis.



### **3.4 The shifting place of financial services in London's diverse economy in the aftermath of the global financial crisis**

Contrary to the global/world city view and GLA Economics' urban economic growth model, London's economic diversity has been key to its long-term economic success and resilience (Buck *et al* 2002, Duranton and Puga 2000, Massey 2001). This diversity and complexity can never be fully captured in any account. Instead, it suggests planners and researchers might usefully cultivate an ability to work with a range of different perspectives, resisting the 'strong temptations to simplify the issues by identifying a single set of activities and markets as crucial to success' (Buck *et al* 2002 p136; see also Edwards 1996, Gordon 2006, Healey 2007). If the global/city view can be more clearly seen as just one way of thinking about London's economy, which like any other emphasises some aspects while obscuring others, space is created to think about London's economy in other ways. While London's financial and insurance services perform most strongly on measures of international specialisation, a much greater range of sectors and activities performs strongly when other indicators are used to identify London's economic strengths. As Figure 1.2 showed, the largest number of jobs is provided by the professional, scientific and technical activities sector, responsible for just 13.2 per cent of total jobs in 2014 (BRES and ABI data). In total, 10 sectors each employ more than 200,000 people in London, just one of which – and far from the largest – is financial and insurance services, responsible for just 7.4 per cent of total jobs.

The global financial crisis not only provided an opening for Just Space and others to challenge the GLA's employment projections but also brought an increased focus on economic diversity and diversification strategies within the GLA and key business lobby groups. Whereas earlier Mayoral strategies were focussed on securing GVA growth, the recession that followed the global financial crisis generated increased strategic focus on securing jobs growth.<sup>17</sup> While the financial insurance services sector stands out on measures such as GVA, GVA growth, exports by value and relative specialisation, as described in the previous section, urban researchers have for some time argued its

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<sup>17</sup> Interviews with Mark Kleinman (GLA), Matthew Waite (GLA Economics) and Nicholas Garrott (assistant to the Mayor's Chief Economic Adviser).

importance to the London economy has been overstated both in global and world city research and in London's metropolitan strategies and plans (Buck *et al* 2002, Edwards 1996, Gordon 1999 and 2011, Graham and Spence 1995, Wood and Wójcik 2010). The Head of GLA Economics, Matthew Waite, explained that in his view, the financial crisis had not materially altered the position of financial services in the London economy.<sup>18</sup> Rather, it had enabled previously-held inflated *perceptions* about the importance of finance to the London economy to be corrected due to the anger and blame directed towards the role of the banks in the financial crisis.<sup>19</sup> This shift in narrative was perhaps best summed up by Mark Boleat, then the City of London Corporation's Chairman of Policy (elected by the City's businesses to lead the Corporation), when he said, '[s]ectors tend to think the world revolves around them... If there was a slight criticism I would have of the City it was a bit along the lines of the rest of the country should be very grateful for us, you know, we are the driver of the economy. Finance is not the driver of the economy. It's a facilitator... it is a driver of this City, the narrow City economy but not the London economy. Its vital to London but so is culture, you know. So are lots of things'.<sup>20</sup>

Since the global financial crisis, both the City of London Corporation and the promotional body for the financial services industry, 'TheCityUK', have commissioned a variety of reports which emphasise financial sector and City links with other sectors. TheCityUK is separate from the Corporation but its Chairman of Policy is represented on the Board of Directors of TheCityUK. Both organisations commissioned research to counter the previously dominant narratives about the exceptionalism of London's financial services sector in order to reposition the sector and the City securely in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. Their respective reports include statistics and graphics which show, for example, that more people are employed in financial services outside London than inside London; the reports also analyse financial services across all UK regions and reframe the UK (rather than London) as world class in financial services (City of London Corporation 2013a, TheCityUK 2014). The Corporation's Chairman of Policy explained to me that 'when we talk about the City we actually mean the UK's financial services sector. That includes Glasgow

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<sup>18</sup> Interview with Matthew Waite (GLA Economics).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Mark Boleat (City of London Corporation).

and Edinburgh, you know, its interdependent with the City... We need to do more to explain and we're doing a lot of work hence [TheCityUK] publication'.<sup>21</sup> Other reports focus on the range of activity in the City of London area itself, zooming in on activities and sectors not usually associated with it, such as small and medium sized businesses and social enterprises (Bone Wells Urbecon in association with London Metropolitan University 2013, Experian 2012a and 2012b) and a changing and dynamic 'business ecology' including a media and electronics cluster as well as the more established financial services cluster (Ramidus Consulting Ltd 2013). At the same time, these reports continue to stress that the vital contribution of the financial services industry to the London and UK economy should not be lost sight of nor taken for granted (City of London Corporation 2013a, Oxford Economics 2011 and 2014).

In interviews, the Chairman of Policy and the Assistant Director of Planning Policy for the Corporation emphasised that while financial services, and banking in particular, remained centrally important to the City, at the same time its economy was more diverse than ever, with an expanding technology and media sector as well as broad strengths in insurance, law, business services and new retail and night-time economies.<sup>22</sup> Seen from this perspective, the Chairman of Policy and Assistant Director of Planning Policy suggested that the GLA projections for a 'slight' decline in employment in finance in London didn't matter as other sectors were growing, securing its future as an international business (rather than finance) sector.<sup>23</sup>

As perceptions about the role and contribution of financial services to London's economy adjusted in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, policy makers began to look to other economic sectors and activities to generate jobs growth. The GLA's Economic and Business Policy unit's work on economic diversification has focused on science, technology and life sciences – including the 'Tech City' and 'Med City' initiatives led by the coalition Government - as well as digital, creative and cultural industries.<sup>24</sup> Whereas GLA Economics relies on historic trends and relative specialisation to identify the sectors that will

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with Mark Boleat (City of London Corporation).

<sup>22</sup> Interviews with Mark Boleat and Peter Shadbolt (City of London Corporation).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Mark Kleinman (GLA).

drive London's economic growth, the GLA's Economic and Business Policy Unit supports the growth and development of sectors and activities which have yet to emerge in London.

The business-led London Enterprise Panel went rather further by including economic diversification as one of three strategic aims of its Economic Development Plan (EDP), produced in collaboration with London First.<sup>25</sup> Summarising the results of their stakeholder consultation to inform the LEP's Economic Development Plan, London First reported that 'there was clear consensus that London needs to perform both in areas of traditional strength (e.g., financial and business services) and in more diverse engines of future growth (e.g., tourism, technology and the creative industries)' (London First and the LEP 2015 p14). The EDP therefore aimed to 'deliver a London economy with... diversity and resilience, with strong performance across more of the economy in order to improve the city's resilience against crises, with no single sector driving more than 40% of GVA or jobs growth' (p4). Despite this broader vision of economic diversification, however, London First's recommendations were limited to addressing identified market failures (specifically shortages of 'technical talent' and funding gaps for SMEs seeking to grow) and providing infrastructure (specifically digital connectivity and housing delivery) to support growth (London First and the LEP 2015 p8).

London's financial services sector has retained a central place within urban economic growth models and urban economic development policies at

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<sup>25</sup> Having long argued for a business-led economic development strategy for London, London First secured £100,000 funding from the GLA and LEP to support work they and their consultants, McKinsey & Company, had initially offered to do pro-bono for the LEP on its Economic Development Plan, or EDP (LEP 2013a, GLA 2014a). The involvement of London First was seen by the LEP and the GLA as important in ensuring the EDP was led by and had the support of businesses (interviews with Jamie Izzard (GLA and the LEP) and Anonymous 4 (business leader)). The document they produced was published as a 'business-led consultation project', i.e. as a report to the LEP rather than the LEP's own economic development plan (LEP nd, London First nd). Subsequently, however, it became the main reference document for the LEP's economic development work, known as the EDA, or Economic Development Agenda (LEP 2015a and 2015b). While the Mayor and the GLA stated clearly that the Mayor's statutory Economic Development Strategy (or, EDS) provides the strategic framework for the LEP's EDP/EDA, London First Co-Chair Harvey McGrath gave the opposite view at a LEP engagement event in North London in June 2014, making clear that the LEP intended its EDP to outlast Boris Johnson's Mayorality and provide the framework for future Mayoral EDS's (A1 17/06/14; see also Jones 2014a, Mayor of London 2014c). While formally the statutory EDS remains clearly the responsibility of the Mayor and the GLA, the formal role of the LEP extends beyond that of consultee, benefiting from regular progress updates and the opportunity to contribute 'any relevant evidence it is developing' (LEP 2015c np).

the GLA, however. Boris Johnson's Chief Economic Advisor, Gerard Lyons, remained focussed on maintaining London's international competitiveness in financial services.<sup>26</sup> The head of GLA Economics told me, 'the Mayor's been quite vocal in the past, you know, about not bashing finance and bankers as much as maybe the national Government would want to and I think that's an appreciation that that is where London's specialism is and it's an international specialism... it's a bit like cutting off your nose to spite your face if you're going to ransack that sector in the hope that something else will spring up'.<sup>27</sup> Both he and the Assistant Director of the Economic and Business Policy Unit took care to clarify that the GLA's interest in economic diversity did not extend to 'picking winners' or normatively-driven economic diversification strategies.<sup>28</sup> In this view, the scope for the GLA to alter London's economic development was very small: 'you can try and stimulate other things in other areas but in a way that's, its going against the whole theory of trade and the rationale for trade... you can only really alter things at the margins depending on market failures rather than you know determine that actually we want to go for manufacturing growth or we want to go for this sort of growth'. Governments were therefore seen to have a very limited role in pursuing diversification strategies; beyond addressing market failures holding back growth in particular sectors, economic diversity would be best supported by creating the conditions to support growth and competitiveness more generally.<sup>29</sup>

While there has been increasing recognition and policy support for economic diversity at the GLA in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, the power of the financial services industry and the constraints of GLA Economics' urban economic growth model have severely constrained the possibilities for more radical diversification strategies that many had hoped for. The very particular sectors of London's economy which have long shaped the GLA's approach moved quickly to use their power and resources to highlight their links

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Nicholas Garrott (assistant to the Mayor's Chief Economic Adviser).

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Matthew Waite (GLA Economics).

<sup>28</sup> Interviews with Matthew Waite (GLA Economics) and Mark Kleinman; also with Mark Boleat (City of London Corporation), Nicholas Garrott (assistant to the Mayor's Chief Economic Adviser), Anonymous 4 (business leader), Will McKee (Outer London Commission) and Margarethe Theseira (former head of GLA Intelligence Unit, incorporating GLA Economics).

<sup>29</sup> Interviews with Mark Boleat (City of London Corporation), Anonymous 4 (business leader), Margarethe Theseira (former head of GLA Intelligence Unit, incorporating GLA Economics), Nicholas Garrott (assistant to the Mayor's Chief Economic Adviser) and Will McKee (Outer London Commission).

and connections with other places and sectors, while at the same time continuing to assert their ongoing fundamental importance. This was a strategic, activist agenda designed to mitigate the risk that the change of perceptions about the role of London's financial services sector following the financial crisis led to a policy agenda negative for the financial services sector and the City. As the Corporation's review of its economic development research programme states, 'by partnering with some of the leading experts in their field, we have again sought not simply to respond to developments, but to drive debate and put London at the forefront of the major issues that will shape the economic future, not only of the financial and professional services sectors, but of the UK as a whole' (2013b p0). Having re-affirmed the central importance of London's financial services sector through its links and connections with other sectors and places, it again becomes possible to suggest that the growth of the city's exceptional international specialisms is 'what's best for London'.<sup>30</sup>

London's global city growth model and Livingstone's pact with its financial services sector has therefore emerged from the global financial crisis shaken, re-shaped but fundamentally restored. While representing the diversity of London's economy performatively challenges the narrow focus of GLA Economics' urban economic growth model, it does not make the interests and institutions that support and benefit from it disappear. Dominant groups and interests are actively engaged in developing and mobilising those narratives about London's economy which most serve their interests. More hopefully, however, the radical potential of economic performativity suggests that diverse economic actors can also enter this struggle to represent themselves and their interests by building and mobilising alternative narratives of the role and contribution of ignored, marginalised or threatened economic activities. In the next section, I suggest that London's escalating workspace crisis is beginning to motivate a wide range of economic actors and their allies to do just that, beginning to build the new narratives and relationships of connection on which a more inclusive approach to urban economic development relies.

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with Nicholas Garrott (assistant to the Mayor's Chief Economic Adviser).

### **3.5 London's escalating workspace crisis mobilises diverse economic actors to enter strategic planning debates**

Concerns that the reducing supply and rising cost of workspace were leading to business displacement and/or closure in London date back to the 1990s (Ferm 2014a) but began to receive more attention after a series of deregulatory changes introduced by the national Coalition and Conservative governments since 2011. While in the 1970s and 1980s both Labour and Conservative governments and Ken Livingstone's GLC took a protectionist stance towards industry in the inner city, in the 1990s and 2000s industrial areas were seen as ripe for redevelopment for new economy and housing uses (Ferm and Jones 2015, Urban Task Force 2002 [1999]). The pressure to release employment land increased throughout the 2000s, thanks to the limited supply of land for housing, increasing residential values and national planning policy which focused on housing over employment and market forces (Ferm 2014a and 2014b). Local authorities were then given still further encouragement in this direction by the Coalition and Conservative governments since 2010, most significantly by bringing the conversion of employment sites to residential use within the range of 'permitted development' (PD) not requiring planning permission. The rationale behind these changes was that the planning system was imposing costs and delays on developers, slowing down housing delivery and preventing the re-use of 'redundant commercial premises' (Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) 2011 p7). At the time of writing, only conversion of B1 office space to residential use has been brought within PD rights, but the government at different points proposed extending this to the conversion of light industrial (B1c), industrial (B2), storage and distribution (B8) and retail (A1 and A2) spaces (DCLG 2011 and 2013, DCLG and Lewis 2015).

While the new PD flexibilities imagined that commercial property being converted to residential would be 'redundant' (DCLG 2011 p7), there was no mechanism for ensuring this was the case. London's high and rising residential values, outbidding employment uses even in the City of London,<sup>31</sup> made it particularly likely that the flexibilities would displace viable businesses throughout the city. Two per cent of total office floorspace had already been

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with Peter Shadbolt (City of London Corporation).

lost through office-to-residential conversions in London between 2009 and 2012 (Ramidus Consulting Ltd with Roger Tym and Partners 2012 p132). Real estate experts raised concerns that the proposed PD flexibilities would threaten the vibrancy of office and residential markets in central London and permanently remove the relatively low-cost, small workspaces preferred by small businesses (Jones Lang LaSalle 2013, Ramidus Consulting Ltd with Roger Tym and Partners 2012) The PD flexibilities therefore provoked broad and diverse opposition in London because they posed such an extensive threat to its economy.

All London boroughs except Redbridge, Barking and Dagenham and Bromley applied for either partial or total exemptions from the proposed commercial-to-residential PD flexibilities (CBRE 2013). Boris Johnson supported all borough applications relating to protecting ‘strategically important locations in London which play a role in sustaining future economic growth and employment in outer and inner London, and of cumulative importance to the London and national economy’ in a ‘strategic overview’ submitted in response to the government consultation (Mayor of London 2013b). Even London First and the British Property Federation supported the Mayor’s proposal to exempt the Central Activities Zone, the north of the Isle of Dogs (location of Canary Wharf), the centre of the ‘tech city’ cluster around Old Street and Shoreditch in east London and the Royal Docks Enterprise Zone.<sup>32</sup> The London Assembly was unanimously opposed to the PD flexibilities and its Planning Committee not only exerted pressure on the Mayor to propose a London-wide exemption but also directly lobbied the Government for a complete London-wide exemption from any proposals to bring conversion of commercial, retail and industrial sites to housing within PD rights (Gavron 2013, 2014a, 2014b and 2015). The LEP also directly intervened in the debate to propose a full, London-wide exemption (McGrath 2014). The Government’s decision to approve only the Mayor’s proposed exception was strongly criticised by the London Assembly Labour Group, the Chair of the Planning Committee and several London boroughs, some of which brought an (unsuccessful) judicial review of the decision

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<sup>32</sup> Interview with Anonymous 1 (London First); see also London Assembly Planning Committee 2012 and McGrath 2014.



(Gavron 2014b and 2015, Geoghegan 2013, London Assembly Labour Group 2013).

In proposing changes that posed a threat to so much of London's economy, the government provoked a wide range of different groups and interests to attempt to articulate the value of the markets and activities about which they were concerned. The resulting narratives emphasised aspects of London's economy which are usually ignored or marginalised, such as SMEs, the outer London economy, high streets and town centres, industrial land and low-cost workspace. One of the strongest alternative narratives came from the Mayor of London's attempt to articulate the 'cumulative strategic importance' of office workspace in town centres and of strategic industrial locations in order to support the cases for other exemptions made by London boroughs (2013b p1). This narrative highlighted that such workspace provides around a third of total London employment and three quarters of the employment in outer London, playing an important role in providing 'opportunities for local employment options particularly suitable for those with childcare and other commitments making longer commutes unsustainable and putting additional strain on already congested transport infrastructure' (p4). It also emphasised the role of town centres and industrial land in 'provid[ing] a range of rents... which supports the continued development of a strong, sustainable and diverse economy' (p7). What is striking here is that the threat posed by the PD flexibilities has motivated the GLA and the Mayor of London to acknowledge the strategic importance of activities more usually seen as having only a secondary and supportive role in London's economy, and in making connections between economic, social and environmental issues. These narratives have been bolstered by further evidence about the impact of the new flexibilities on London's economy which has been commissioned and collected since they were introduced in May 2013 (e.g. British Council for Offices 2015, LEP 2015d, McGrath 2014, RICS 2014).

The increasing visibility and influence of London's SMEs through the LEP SME working group has contributed to an increasing strategic focus on London's escalating workspace crisis within both the LEP and the GLA. London's 800,000 SMEs make up 99.8% of private enterprises and provide

nearly 50% of jobs but have long been ignored and marginalised by the global city approach (LEP 2013b). The FSB London Policy Chair, Sue Terpilowski, was appointed as a member of the LEP and an SME working group was set up after the LEP identified this as one of its four priorities in its *Jobs and Growth Plan* (LEP 2013b and 2013c). For the LEP, the size of the SME sector positions it 'at the forefront of reshaping London's economic landscape in the 21<sup>st</sup> century' (LEP 2013b p21). This discursive strategy is used to argue that SMEs should be more involved in policy making and supported by economic development policy etc, having tended to be 'overlooked... in favour of the global corporates that are synonymous with the capital' (*ibid*). Writing on behalf of the LEP business members to the government, LEP co-chair Harvey McGrath referred to the ability of the LEP SME working group to 'give many real life examples of how the changes to permitted development rights have adversely affected local economies, including the loss of high street shoppers, loss of workspace, loss of potential for affordable housing and, in some instances, a financial undermining of Business Improvement Districts' (McGrath 2014 np). The working group also funded new research on workspace, set up an 'Open Workspace Providers' group and began to consider the impact of the rising cost of workspace on SMEs more generally (LEP 2013c, 2013d, 2014b, 2014c and 2015e). Although little information is publically available currently, it is possible that the Open Workspace Providers group may take an even broader view of workspace, having set an early priority work area on 'gentrification and the effect on workspace' (LEP 2015f np). Further funding programmes dedicated to workspace were also anticipated, in the light of a new theme on incubator and co-working spaces within the new EU funding streams that would be managed by the LEP.<sup>33</sup>

The new source of information, expertise and demands in the LEP SME working group was one of the factors which led to the emergence of a new strategic focus on 'Places of Work' within the GLA Regeneration team.<sup>34</sup> This new strategic work area gathered together several London-wide reports from across the LEP and GLA, including the SME working group's report on incubator and accelerator workspace, a report on artists' workspaces

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<sup>33</sup> Interview with Tobias Goevert (GLA).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*.

commissioned by the GLA Creative and Cultural Team and a report on accommodating growth in town centres which included a substantial section on low-cost workspace – or Low Threshold Enterprise Space, as the report defined it - commissioned to support Johnson's proposed Further Alterations to the London Plan (GLA 2014b, 2014c and 2014d). It also included the GLA Regeneration team's detailed studies of industrial areas in Tottenham and Park Royal, the latter intended to inform future work to support industry as part of the new Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation (GLA 2014e, Gort Scott 2013). According to Tobias Goevert, who led the 'Places of Work' initiative, together with similar studies commissioned by the London Legacy Development Corporation to inform their local plan (URS and Marko and Placemakers Ltd 2014, We Made That 2014), this research had begun to develop a methodology for understanding industrial areas in order to fill a gap in knowledge amongst local authorities and which could be replicated across London in order to inform Opportunity Area Planning Frameworks in the future. The GLA Regeneration Team was keen to build on the expertise they had built up by funding and supporting local authority high street regeneration projects going beyond the usual retail focus by delivering shared office and workshop spaces in order to support further jobs growth.<sup>35</sup> Reflecting that, although the GLA's main strategic projects were supporting housing and job growth, it did not have a dedicated team focused on the latter, Goevert suggested that the *Places of Work* grouping was designed to fill that gap by bringing together the different teams with an interest in workspace issues in order to share experience and progress future projects. He said, 'let's hope that affordable workspace will be as high up the agenda as if it were housing at some point'.<sup>36</sup>

The LEP SME working group and the various reports and initiatives coming together under the GLA's 'Places of Work' agenda are beginning to insert a greater diversity of economic actors, and their experiences and concerns about London's escalating workspace crisis, into strategic policy-making processes. These openings have already produced new rationales for public sector intervention to protect and provide workspace, for example, where it provides 'opportunities for growth', 'supports servicing of the wider economy'

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<sup>35</sup> Interview with Tobias Goevert (GLA).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

and/or stimulates growth in local income and employment through supply chains, especially in deprived areas (GLA 2014c p59). It is clear at the same time that market failure must be demonstrated and that there was no justification for intervention to support inefficient businesses with no growth aspirations (GLA 2014c and 2014d). Other reports have recommended setting up further networks through which previously invisible or little understood economic actors and activities can come together in order further to develop the evidence base, codify it in a way in which it can be shared and used and facilitate engagement and influence with policy makers.<sup>37</sup> While the openings for business involvement in metropolitan policy-making created by the establishment of the LEP have so far been most strongly taken up by already-dominant groups and interests, they have also presented new opportunities for London's large SME sector to bring new momentum and strategic focus to its escalating workspace crisis, which has in turn begun to open up further opportunities for diverse economic actors to influence strategic policy-making processes.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has illustrated how re-orienting critical analysis to the contested nature of urban economies can open up possibilities for more inclusive approaches to urban economic development. Literature from the global South which sees city strategies and plans as productive sites for thinking about conflicts, openings and alternatives (Section 2.3) helped me to identify the potential of the EiP process required to finalise each new version of the London Plan. I drew attention not only to the role of the GLA's internal economic analysis unit, GLA Economics, employment projections and urban economic growth model in bringing London's global city growth model into being, but also as a site of struggle for more inclusive alternatives. I gathered together performative resources which emphasise the diversity of London's economy whilst also recognising the need for such resources to be built and mobilised by diverse economic actors in order to challenge the dominance of powerful and influential business groups and interests. Finally, I suggested that London's escalating workspace crisis was beginning to motivate a wide range of

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with Tobias Goevert (GLA); see also GLA 2014b and 2014e.

economic actors and their allies to do just that. Throughout, I have looked to Gibson-Graham's notion of economic politics (2006a and 2006b; Section 2.2) to draw out the political nature of the struggle to represent London's economy.

While the small openings, subtle shifts and nascent mobilisations that I identify might easily be ignored or dismissed, working with open, sensitive and generative modes of critique (Blomley 2007, Gibson-Graham 2001 and 2008, Jacobs 2012, McGuirk 2012, Robinson 2015) focuses attention on how they might yet strengthen, build, amplify and proliferate. The attempt of Just Space to challenge the global city growth model underpinning Johnson's London Plan in 2010 did not succeed in that moment. However, Just Space's experiences motivated the network radically to extend its organising work on economic issues by forming a dedicated Economy and Planning group which I supported as part of this research (see Chapter 4). As I argue in Chapter 5, London's escalating workspace crisis played an important role in mobilising diverse economic actors to participate in JSEP, significantly strengthening the group's capacity to develop shared knowledge about London's diverse economy through its efforts to challenge the Mayor's proposed Further Alterations to the London Plan and to develop more inclusive approaches to economic development.

This chapter has been informed by the insights and ways of seeing I developed through my involvement in JSEP. For example, it was only in the process of supporting Just Space to develop its work on economic issues that I came to understand the wider significance of its achievements in challenging the GLA's employment projections in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. Similarly, when I realised that the threat to workspace was motivating various small business groups to participate in JSEP's activities, I began to look for other openings and emerging mobilisations concerning the threat to workspace. Starting from a position of solidarity and support for already-existing struggles, no matter how insignificant and limited they may initially have seemed, has therefore been central to the analysis I have been able to develop and present in this chapter. In the next chapter I introduce how I combined research and activism in various ways in order to participate in and learn from collective knowledge production and action, changing my own way of relating to London's

economy through the new knowledge, connections and possibilities I built with others. In so doing, it became possible to extend and expand further still the sites and instances of contestation in London's evolving global city growth model identified so far.

## **4 Research methods for contesting urban economies**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the methods I developed and made use of in the course of this PhD in order to open up possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development. It starts by explaining how I analysed policy documents and interviewed policy makers in order to identify and explore openings and conflicts within London's evolving global city growth model described in Chapters 3 and 5. In Chapters 6 and 7, I use insights gained through policy analysis and interviews to explore two of the primary areas identified in the London Plan to accommodate London's growth, where growth ambitions are placing particular pressure on existing workspace. My focus is on the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) area, in the Lower Lee Valley Opportunity Area, and Tottenham, in the Upper Lee Valley Opportunity Area, where aims for economic growth have become intermingled with aims for inclusion and improvements for historically deprived and marginalised communities in these areas. Through document analysis and interviews, I read London's evolving global city growth model for 'difference rather than dominance' (Gibson-Graham 2008 p623), revealing a differentiated landscape for contestation and alternatives to emerge.

My aim is not only to reveal and learn from contestations and alternatives, however, but also to contribute directly to them. This chapter therefore sets out various approaches to combining activism with research (Section 4.3), introduces the five groups I worked with and my role in relation to them (Section 4.4), describes the opportunities for collaborative action research that emerged (Section 4.5) and outlines the process of writing an individual thesis from collective knowledge and action (Section 4.6). Throughout, I attempt to communicate the emergent and evolving nature of my research practice and its relationship with the groups I worked with and my own position in relation to them. The result is a 'vulnerable text' that 'talks through data' in order to reveal and acknowledge the interconnected and interactive processes of developing theory, method, analysis and writing, rather than the 'deceit' of a 'neat, linear, orderly, chunked up and certain argument' (Crang and Cook 2007 pp163 and

171). My account speaks both to debates about the constraints and limits of different approaches to combining activism with research and to the difficulty of building sustainable and strong alliances across difference with few resources and in the face of multiple and intensifying threats.

## 4.2 Policy analysis and interviews

While most of my research practice focused on London's emerging economic alliances, it was also important to explore the nature of the plans and development proposals they sought to challenge and develop alternatives. Conscious of the risk of seeing only the power and dominance of the global/world city view, I wanted to remain alert to the co-presence of multiple, conflicting rationalities *within* the Greater London Authority (GLA), the LLDC, the London Borough of Newham (LBN)<sup>38</sup> and Haringey Council. While the groups with which I was working primarily identified themselves in opposition to the GLA, the LLDC, LBN and Haringey Council, they also were attuned to the possibilities of engaging, collaborating with or influencing these same institutions. It was therefore important not only to understand the nature of the plans and development proposals which had provoked contestations and alternatives in the first place, but also to reveal the contestations and alternatives taking place within the institutions and interests which had produced them and the opportunities they presented for opposition, alternatives or even engagement. The policy analysis and interviews I conducted helped to keep both aspects in play in this thesis.

I identified interviewees by 'snowballing' from the suggestions of my supervisors, my own developing experience and knowledge and new information provided by interviewees themselves. I aimed to speak to politicians, public officials, business leaders and others involved in leading, shaping or delivering plans, strategies and economic analyses across planning, economic development and regeneration policy areas London-wide, in the LLDC area and in Tottenham. In total, I contacted 58 potential interviewees, of whom I was able to interview 32; the final sample listed at Appendix 2 (Part Ai)

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<sup>38</sup> LBN is included as it retained significant control over the development of the Carpenters Estate as majority landowner when LLDC took over its planning functions (see Chapter 6).



reflects both time limitations and the responses I received. While it can often be difficult to gain access to elite interviewees (Mullings 1999), I was surprised that policy makers and politicians generally responded positively to my requests, with the exception of those at LBN. Here, public sector funding cuts and successive rounds of reorganisation meant that many of those to whom it would have been useful to speak were no longer working for the council, while those who remained were experiencing pressure, stress and uncertainty. It would have been interesting to interview more people in order to further probe the opportunities and constraints facing the Carpenters Community Plan group; nevertheless, this was a relatively small part of the overall research which I was undertaking for this thesis.

I developed a list of topics and questions to guide my interviews, which I adapted in each case (an example is at Appendix 2, Part Aii), guided both by academic research, policy analysis and the knowledge and experience I was gaining through my engagement with community and small business groups in London. I followed a semi-structured and conversational approach to interviewing to ensure a balance between covering the topics which were of concern to me and allowing a dialogue to develop organically, enabling unanticipated issues to be explored (Sayer 2010 [1984]). I became more adept at this as I gained confidence, skills and experience, for example, re-directing the discussion if it strayed too far from the topic and bringing the conversation back to issues which had been skimmed over early on. I asked questions about policy makers' ideas and understandings about London's economy and how these informed planning policy, as well as economic development and regeneration policy. I drew both on my reading of academic literature about economic performativity (Chapter 2) and my ongoing work with groups to analyse and challenge the economic evidence underpinning plans in consultations and public examinations of metropolitan and local plans. I explored how economic and social development goals were interrelated with one another and the openings these presented for groups to advance their propositions for alternative, more inclusive urban economic development. Here, too, I was informed both by my reading of the academic literature on city strategies and plans (Chapter 2) and the issues of concern to the groups with which I was working. The role of both research and activism in shaping the

interviews therefore generated data of relevance to both academic and community debates and concerns.

The same considerations guided my analysis of policy documents. Dittmer (2010) describes discourse analysis as centred around textual analysis, (capital-D) Discourse analysis and the performance of Discourse. Analysis of Discourse and the performance of Discourse involves connecting texts to their influence, power and reception by audiences, in order to 'show how alternative geographies are foreclosed while the status quo is perpetuated' (2010, p285). In this case, however, my analysis of policy documents aimed not only to reveal and uncover the power and influence of dominant texts but also to identify openings, contradictions and contestations. In identifying texts for analysis, I was primarily guided by my research and activism, supplemented by more systematic searches of the GLA, LLDC, LBN and Haringey Council websites. In total, I analysed 60 London-wide policy documents and between 20 and 30 policy documents each for the LLDC area and Tottenham.

On occasion, I was able to use policy interviews to seek out further opportunities for the groups with which I was involved. For example, the then chair of the London Assembly Economy Committee, Fiona Twycross AM, and the head of GLA Economics, Matthew Waite, both went on to participate in JSEP events after I had interviewed them. When interviewing policy makers about specific, highly contested sites, in particular the Carpenters Estate and Wards Corner, it was harder to draw out positive opportunities. My strong commitment to and solidarity with the groups I was working with sometimes made it difficult for me to navigate 'insider' and 'outsider' roles in order effectively to open up dialogue (Mullings 1999). In such moments, I tended to take too critical a line in questioning, placing interviewees on the defensive and closing down the conversation. These experiences provoked feelings of disappointment and failure, as I came up against the constraints and limits of the openings and contestations I was attempting to reveal and strengthen. These experiences were difficult but also productive for my emerging analysis and arguments, as well as for the development of my research skills.

### 4.3 Combining activism with research

Combining, moving between and negotiating multiple *individual* positionalities as researcher and activist - often termed, scholar-activism - is notoriously difficult. By comparison, *collective* approaches place both academics and activists within the frame of activism and action, obviating the need for individuals to reconcile demanding and potentially conflicting roles. While individual and collective approaches to combining activism with research are often counterposed with one another, in this thesis I use both approaches to build opportunities for *collaborative* action research, making use of academic, activist and academic-activist positionalities in different ways with each group and in different phases of the research process. This discussion of individual, collective and collaborative approaches therefore seeks to draw out shared aspects and common goals as well as differences.

All three approaches are based in an understanding of academia and activism as fluid and connected rather than fixed and separate spheres of knowledge and action (Fuller and Kitchin 2004, Kindon, Pain and Kesby 2007, Routledge 1996). Activism also takes place within the academy in multiple other ways, including through radical pedagogy and learning about activism and from activists (Castree 1999, Chatterton 2008, Hodgkinson 2009, UCL nd, Wills 2014), with spaces for publishing critical work across diverse fora and media and/or resisting the drive to 'publish or perish' (e.g. Boudreau and Kaika 2013, Chatterton 2008, Mountz *et al* 2015), resisting worsening working conditions within universities (e.g. Pain 2014, Pain, Kesby and Askins 2012, Slater 2012, Wills 2012) and building spaces for mutual support and collective work (Gillan and Pickerill 2012, International Network of Urban Research and Action 1999 and 2004, Lehrer and Keil 2009, Participatory Geographies Research Group 2012, Wynne-Jones *et al* 2015). Activism includes longer-term everyday organising, care and emotional work and groups which may not even identify as activist, as well as the high-profile, 'capital A' activism of protests, occupations and blockades (Askins 2009, Brown 2007, Halvorsen 2015, Maxey 1999, Oldfield 2015, Routledge 2002). Activism is also a site of knowledge production, even if activist knowledges are often ignored, devalued or appropriated through

research practices (Benson and Nagar 2006, Cahill 2007, Katz 1994, M. Taylor 2014, Wills 2012 and 2014).

All three approaches can produce practical benefits for the groups involved as well as generating new theoretical insights. This means combining activism with research may be a particularly relevant way of working with marginalised, disadvantaged and/or economically precarious communities and activist groups, which tend to experience research as an extractive process which produces few if any benefits for them (Benson and Nagar 2006, Kitchin and Hubbard 1999, Mason *et al* 2013). Community and activist groups often freely offer up their (already unpaid) time, knowledge and resources to researchers, despite being in a vulnerable, economically precarious or highly-pressured situation, but may not always receive copies of research outputs, let alone any practical or material benefits (Lyons 2014). More worryingly, community and activist groups can experience negative impacts from research. For example, in the course of my own research and activism in relation to the Brixton Pound, a number of businesses withdrew from the local currency after being asked to complete four different questionnaires by four different students in the same week (M. Taylor 2014). Partly as a result of such experiences, some community and activist groups have developed advice and guidelines for interested researchers (Brixton Pound nd, Just Space 2013). Their experiences suggest that 'there is more to do to embed basic elements of an ethics of reciprocity into teaching and research activities in relation to diverse activist groups, whatever the method being pursued' (M. Taylor 2014 p308).

Of course, a concern with 'immediate reciprocity' (Gillan and Pickerill 2012 p133), 'give and take' (Kitchin and Hubbard 1999 p196) or 'who-gets-what' (Benson and Nagar 2006 p589) - that is, finding ways to benefit activist groups in recognition of the costs involved in taking part in research - is no answer to unequal and complex power relations between researchers and researched and in itself generates ethical problems. Even well-intentioned scholar-activists risk being perceived as getting involved only in order to gain access to activist groups and extracting individual gains in academic recognition and reward from collective activism (Gillan and Pickerill 2012). Focusing on combining activism with research as a means of securing a direct transfer of benefits from research

to activism also cuts across the more fluid and connected understandings of academia and activism that underpin all three approaches (Derickson and Routledge 2015, Gillan and Pickerill 2012). However, combining activism with research also opens up a range of other contributions which extend across these boundaries and which can incorporate a range of different motivations.

*Individual* approaches to combining activism with research involve blurring these roles through activities inside and outside academia, making it possible to be both researcher and activist at the same time (Askins 2009, Fuller 1999, Katz 1994, Routledge 1996). Combining, moving between and negotiating individual activist and academic positionalities means that roles are never fixed and need to be constantly negotiated. The tensions, conflicts and contradictions between academia and activism make this difficult and demanding work, even for experienced scholar-activists (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010, Chatterton 2006, Halfacree 2004, Mason *et al* 2013, Routledge 1996 and 2002, Taylor 2014). Uncomfortable feelings of dislocation and fracture are generated as multiple identities and institutions interfere with and disrupt each other (Routledge 1996). Scholar-activists suggest that it is precisely in negotiating these displacements and disruptions, however, that they are able to arrive at a 'third space' from which to write, speak and do, where critical thought is embedded in solidarity with the struggles of communities and activists and oriented towards action (Routledge 1996 p399; see also Cahill 2007, Fuller 1999, Katz 1994, Lyons 2014, Taylor 2014).

When '[b]ecoming part of the action', Fuller (1999 p224) writes, the scholar-activist cannot long maintain a separation between the roles of researcher and activist, and must instead 'learn... to cope with the politics of integration' (p225). He explains how his anxiety about the conflicts between his dual roles (for example, his shame at being able to extract academic kudos from discussing in scholarly articles the announcement that the funding for credit unions was being cut) was gradually replaced by an understanding of 'how to position myself so as to be both committed and critical' (1999 p225). He tells how he was able to use his understanding of the credit union and his and others' anxieties about his role in relation to it to identify how he could make use of his skills of critical analysis within the movement, rather than only 'in the

safety of my notebook' (*ibid*). Finding that members were much more willing to share their concerns about the existing (problematic) umbrella group for credit unions in Hull with him because of his identity as a researcher, Fuller conducted a study which 'has acted as a catalyst for the evolution of a city-wide approach to credit union development within Hull' (p226). By blurring his roles as activist and researcher, Fuller was able to develop and make use of a 'third voice' through which "insider" and "outsider" voices... coalesce into a new perspective, one which is not just counter-hegemonic or simply oppositional... but which opens a new arena of negotiation, meaning, representation' (Routledge 1996 p414).

Academic-activists have drawn on their research and activism to contribute generative and action-oriented critical analyses to scholarly debates. Lyons explains how her activist research in Uganda 'provided a site for KOPC [Katuulo Organic Pineapple Cooperative] members to demonstrate their negotiating and bargaining power', opening up a new discourse of smallholder farmers as agents of development rather than "passive recipients" or "victims" of the (organic) export-led model of agricultural development' (2014 pp111-2). Similarly, my own previous involvement and research with the Brixton Pound allowed me, amongst other things, to see, learn from and participate in the group's own critique of the currency model (M. Taylor 2014). Unlike the view of local currencies which emerged from the academic literature - as limited and constrained alternatives to the capitalist economy - the critique practiced by the B£ group was 'bound up with action... pursued with the deliberate intention of creating, sustaining and strengthening the local currency, nurturing a nascent alternative economy' (p310). After several decades during which Left scholars have proved themselves to be better able to critically analyse capitalism and neoliberalism than to imagine alternatives (Blomley 2007, Gibson-Graham 2006a and 2008, Harvey 2000), the possibility that combining activism with research might be productive and generative of new ideas about social change is particularly exciting and attractive.

While there is much of value that can be learned from individual scholar-activism, therefore, it also 'seems to suggest that many academics are operating, largely autonomously, as individuals pursuing their own personal

activist interests, and not collectively deciding on research priorities with social movements and other activist scholars in order to address the wider strategic issues of this engagement for achieving radical change' (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010 p250). Zusman (2004) has argued that the question of whether and how any one individual can combine and work between activism and research is a particular Anglo-American concern which arises when activism emerges out of research. She contrasts these debates with Spanish and Latin American approaches which are based in an understanding of the academic as playing one part among many in the production of *collective* knowledge and political practice. Gibson-Graham's emphasis on the performativity of knowledge produces a similar understanding of the academic as part of a collective agency, enabling academics to use their skills, capacities and resources to connect with communities 'without needing to change hats or stray outside the walls of the academy' (2006a pxxx). Harney *et al* (2016; see also Wills 2012 and 2014) suggest that researchers focus on building longer-term relationships with community partners which, over time, may offer possibilities to conduct traditional, detached research and a wide range of differently-configured collaborative, action-oriented and/or community-based research projects and opportunities for student learning while also building capacity and power to effect change on issues of concern.

Although advocates for collective approaches to research and activism have tended to distance themselves from the more individualised accounts of scholar-activists, like others (e.g. Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010) I suggest that they continue to offer relevant insights for pursuing collective action. Firstly, critical reflection and reflexivity about one's own positionality is essential if such collectives are to work across difference and diversity. While all researchers are activists in that their research plays a role in bringing the social world it examines into being, this does not mean that they occupy the same position as the (other) activists with whom they may be collaborating. Power and positionality demand critical reflection and reflexivity not only in individual scholar-activism but also in collective action and activism. The emphasis on critical reflexivity within scholar-activism is likely to be particularly useful in moving beyond academic-centred or academic-led collectives such as the Community Economies Collective ([www.communityeconomies.org](http://www.communityeconomies.org)), Occupy

Research Collective ([occupyresearchcollective.wordpress.com](http://occupyresearchcollective.wordpress.com)) and the Great Lakes Feminist Geography Collective ([gpow.org/collective](http://gpow.org/collective); Mountz *et al* 2015).

Thus, while individual and collective approaches to combining activism with research are often counterposed, I use both approaches in this thesis to build opportunities for *collaborative* action research, making use of academic, activist and academic-activist positionalities in different ways with each group and in different phases of the research process. By collaborative action research, I mean that research which is done in collaboration *with* community and activist groups, which recognises the legitimacy and authorship of collaborators' knowledge and labour and which is embedded in and oriented towards their goals and aims (e.g. Benson and Nagar 2006, Cahill 2007, Kerr 2003, Kruzynski 2006, Nagar in consultation with Ali and *Sangatin* women's collective 2003, McLean *et al* 2015, Oldfield 2015). Even critical academics sometimes rely on distancing and differentiating their ways of knowing from those they are researching in order to assure themselves and others of the special value and role of the academy (Benson and Nagar 2006, Kitchin and Hubbard 1999, Mason *et al* 2013, M. Taylor 2014). Research practices such as demarcating 'the field', abstracting data from the processes which produced it through systematic coding or locating 'authorship' solely in the person writing can appropriate community and activist knowledges for individual gain within the academy (Benson and Nagar 2006, Cahill 2007, Katz 1994). As Wills puts it, however, 'all knowledge is coproduced through thinking and acting with others, even if such engagement is often ignored' (2012 p120).

There have been increasing calls for the use of collaborative action research methods in urban studies, (Derickson 2015, Ehrkamp 2011, Jazeel and McFarlane 2010, Oldfield 2015, Peake 2016, Russell *et al* 2011, Sheppard *et al* 2013). Recognising the authorship and legitimacy of diverse ways of knowing through collaborative action research explodes narrow notions of reciprocity, opening up instead 'new spaces where academics and grassroots actors can collectively push the boundaries of their own institutions to generate knowledges that can inspire new forms of creative struggle in and outside the academy' (Benson and Nagar 2006 p590; see also Fuller 1999, Oldfield 2015). For example, collaborative action research with a neighbourhood organisation



in Mount Dennis (Toronto) produced an analysis of the social importance of commercial spaces earmarked for redevelopment which was used to engage not only in academic debates but also in contested development processes, as well as motivating the formation of 'an advocacy organisation... with a specific mandate to build the capacity of low-income shop owners in Mount Dennis and to hold redevelopment planners accountable to the racialized poor' (McLean *et al* 2015 p1290). Similarly, Oldfield's partnership with a community based organisation in an impoverished Cape Town township included collaborative action research on a wide range of topics resulting in collective outputs and products, 'confirm[ing] and deepen[ing] the knowledge about what needs to be done... [and building] a platform for other sorts of community work and activism', as well as new academic analyses of urban politics (2015 p2081). By recognising and working with the diverse practices and knowledges of activist and community groups in this way, collaborative action research can build new knowledge and possibilities for action with others which circulate and proliferate in the new relationships and networks created through the research process. Collaborative action research, understood in this way, offers a third approach to combining activism and research.

#### **4.4 Getting involved in some of London's emerging economic alliances**

In this thesis, possibilities for collaborative action research emerged through my engagement with some of London's emerging economic alliances. At first, I identified most strongly as a student volunteer/helper (in the case of JSEP, the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network) or as activist (in the case of WCC and OTLE). As I got more involved, however, I became increasingly certain that I wanted to find ways to base my PhD research on these activities. My experiences had already substantially influenced my own research questions and approach, generating considerable scope for mutually beneficial research projects. I was becoming more engaged in the work and knew that I would be able to commit more time and energy to it if it was contributing directly to my PhD. At the same time, I felt uneasy about turning my involvement into research material that I would use for my own benefit in a context where I and many of those I was working with were questioning whether and how researchers could contribute to urban struggles. I found discussing

and agreeing with each group a proposal for how I could combine activism with research helpful in working through the nature of my role. In the case of JSEP, my role was to facilitate and contribute to collective knowledge production and action, while in the case of the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network, my role was limited to providing support on economic issues to community planning processes led by the London Tenants Federation (LTF) and Just Space. In the case of WCC and OT, my strong prior identification as an activist caused me considerable difficulties in thinking about how to combine activism with research. It was in the uncomfortable process of attempting to combine activism with research that I ultimately came to develop and pursue a specific approach to collaborative action research which provided a framework for thinking about my research and activism across all five groups.

#### *4.4.1 Building a culture of collaboration between community groups, small business groups and academics through the Just Space Economy and Planning group*

My ability to facilitate and contribute to collective knowledge production and political practice through JSEP was rooted in the long-term engagement between Just Space and UCL (Brown *et al* 2014, Edwards 2010b, Lipietz *et al* 2014). When I began my PhD in January 2012, Just Space was proactively developing its engagement with economic issues in the light of previous difficulties in challenging London's global city growth model (Section 3.3). I took opportunities to help out at Just Space conferences by facilitating or taking notes of economy workshops.<sup>39</sup> Later on, I jumped at the chance to work with Michael Edwards to organise the first Just Space conference focussed solely on economic issues. We worked closely with Richard Lee (Just Space co-ordinator and active in several community groups in Elephant and Castle, south London), Robin Brown (Just Space treasurer and involved in community planning in Hayes, west London, with a keen interest in London's economy) and Roy Tindle (Just Space member active in making the case for retaining industrial land in Charlton, Greenwich) to bring together around 30 researchers and community activists for presentations and discussions at UCL on 23 March 2013.

At the conference, Richard Lee explained that the aim was to draw together and build resources and support from researchers for the efforts of community groups in challenging dominant economic models underpinning development in London and to build radical economic alternatives that address 'social and environmental issues, and what is happening at the grassroots level'.<sup>40</sup> The workshop showcased the work of Patria Roman-Velazquez (2013) to value small, ethnic and migrant retailers in Latin markets threatened by development projects in Elephant and Castle and Seven Sisters, a report produced by the New Economics Foundation (2006) for Friends of Queen's Market on the economic and social contribution of the market, and my early PhD work on London's diverse economy.<sup>41</sup> At the end of the workshop, participants supported Richard Lee's idea for a regular series of meetings to progress its activities on economic issues in planning.

After the workshop, I worked with various Just Space members to develop a proposal for an Economy and Planning group. The proposed group was conceived as a spin-off group from Just Space, which would decide its own name, set and follow its own agenda and have a wider participation including small business groups, independent organisations and researchers as well as community groups. I played a role in discussing and drafting the initial proposal for the group, including suggesting that it move beyond thinking about how researchers could support community groups by building a culture of collaboration amongst all those seeking to advance alternative approaches to economic development in London.<sup>42</sup> I volunteered to support the group during its first year, drawing on its activities for the purposes of my own PhD research.

The proposal for an Economy and Planning group was discussed and agreed at a Just Space network meeting in June 2013 (Appendix 2, Part Bi). My role was to work with other JSEP members to pursue the aims that we collectively defined, by organising and facilitating meetings, identifying and connecting with relevant groups and individuals, bringing together different

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<sup>39</sup> A1 23/01/13. This reference relates to a numbering system in order to catalogue, organise and analyse the many materials I collected in the course of my research and action. I explain this numbering system in Section 4.6.

<sup>40</sup> A1 23/03/13.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> A1 25/05/13.

views and evidence in shared documents and helping the group and its members to navigate complex and technical consultation and public examination processes. Of course, the work JSEP went on to do evolved rather differently from that originally proposed. While the proposal was useful in agreeing the relationship between my research and JSEP's activities, I provided regular updates and sought collective decisions on priorities as JSEP's work developed, regularly reminding others about my PhD research.

My early work as a student volunteer therefore opened up opportunities to facilitate, participate in, contribute to and learn from Just Space's efforts to develop its efforts to challenge and develop more inclusive alternatives to London's global city growth model. While I struggled to keep up with the volume and pace of work and, at times, felt uncomfortable about extracting material from a process that others were contributing to,<sup>43</sup> the framing of JSEP as a collaborative, collective endeavour between academics and non-academics reduced conflict and tension at an individual level. Furthermore, the relative size, strength and resources of JSEP created more possibilities for collective action, even in small ways, such as writing notes and group documents, organising events and analysing policy documents, which not only alleviated the pressure on any one individual but also contributed to building further collective capacity and resources. My own critical practice was significantly shaped by collaborating with skilled, experienced and knowledgeable Just Space members, which I was able to use in my research and activism with other groups.

#### *4.4.2 Supporting the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network to connect with local businesses*

I began supporting the Carpenters Community Planning group as a student volunteer because of my opposition to UCL's proposal to develop a new campus on the Carpenters Estate. This 23 hectare site is located adjacent to Stratford Station and the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (hereafter, the Olympic Park) and includes 709 homes across three 22-storey towers, low-rise flats and terraces, various commercial buildings, green and play space, two community centres, a primary school and a construction college (Watt 2013; see Figure

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<sup>43</sup> RD 20/03/13, 03/09/13 and 23/10/13.

4.1). The relatively cheap pre-fabricated high-rise towers were built in 1967 by West Ham Council to house the large numbers of people on its housing waiting list. These towers replaced the row housing originally built on the site by the Worshipful Company of Carpenters to house people working in nearby factories, which had been badly damaged during the Second World War (Dunn *et al* 2011, Richard B 2012). LBN remains the majority landowner on the estate, which has been managed by the Carpenters Tenant Management Organisation since the late 1990s, while responsibility for statutory planning functions was passed to the LLDC in April 2012. Since 2000/01, LBN had been exploring options for addressing various problems concerning the quality and standard of the homes on the estate, settling on demolition of all three high-rise towers and some of the low-rise buildings in 2008. Prior to UCL's interest, therefore, LBN had already identified the Carpenters area as a key strategic site for mixed-use development in its local planning documents.



*Figure 4.1 The Carpenters Estate on a sunny day, showing low-rise terraced houses on the left and right of the footpath, a high rise tower behind on the left and the Carpenters Arms pub in the distance, beyond which the 'ArcelorMittal Orbit' sculpture, created by Anish Kapoor and Cecil Balmond for the London 2012 Olympic Games, and the London Stadium can be seen on the neighbouring Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Source: the author.*

A new campus at Stratford fitted well with plans for UCL's expansion and the economic transformation of East London. For UCL, its main campus in Bloomsbury was a key asset in attracting students but also posed constraints to its capacity to grow and remain competitive (UCL 2011b). As Government funding for research and teaching was withdrawn, UCL's need for a new campus intensified (Lifschutz Davidson Sandilands 2011 p17). The Mayor of Newham claimed UCL's new campus would provide jobs and homes, inspire young people and contribute to the Olympic legacy (UCL 2011a). UCL (2012) also suggested that a new campus could contribute to LBN's ambition to extend Tech City east. More broadly, LBN (2012a) suggested UCL's new campus would facilitate the borough's economic transformation from wholesale, distribution, construction, manufacturing and transport to high value jobs in emerging sectors.

The UCL proposition attracted intense opposition from Carpenters residents and UCL students and staff over its neglect of the concerns and wishes of the remaining settled community and loss of social housing. Members of the Carpenters Residents' Steering Group criticised UCL and LBN for pursuing total demolition of the estate and limiting consultation to re-housing options, and re-asserted residents' wish to stay (LBN 2012b). UCL's Students Union and the student-led Save Carpenters campaign organised public meetings, demonstrations, an occupation of a university room, visits, a petition, letter writing campaigns, information and analysis and an alternative exhibition, in many of which I participated. These activities usually involved members of one of the Carpenters residents' groups, Carpenters Against Regeneration Plans (CARP!), and academic staff from UCL's Urban Laboratory, who were also pursuing their own efforts to influence the plans (UCL Urban Laboratory 2012). UCL's plans also motivated me and several other PhD students to create an informal space at UCL to foster 'research and action motivated by a participatory / activist ethic or approach' (Participatory, Activist and Research Network 2012). These groups and activities provided opportunities for dialogue and debate between UCL students and staff and Carpenters residents.

In May 2013, UCL and LBN announced they had been unable to agree commercial terms. UCL students and Carpenters' residents claimed victory for

their campaigns (Alexander cited in Blowe 2013, UCL Save Carpenters 2013). Public statements from UCL's new Provost, Professor Michael Arthur, and my own interviews with LLDC officials later confirmed that the extent of controversy, opposition and anticipated costs were important in this decision.<sup>44</sup> Rumours that UCL would instead take up a place within the Olympic Park were confirmed in November 2013. UCL's Provost claimed that this new campus would contribute to London becoming 'the premier destination in the world for higher education and ... pre-eminent in biomedicine, health and life sciences' (Arthur 2013 np, UCL 2014). The new campus would be part of a broader arts, culture and higher education cluster on the Olympic Park, dubbed 'Olympicopolis' (Mayor of London 2013c).

UCL's plans for a new campus had, however, already spurred CARP! to begin working on a community plan in order to articulate its own vision for the Carpenters Estate. Sharon Hayward (LTF) and Richard Lee (Just Space) facilitated this process as part of a broader scholar-activist project already under way with Professor Loretta Lees (then at Kings College London). This project aimed to collect and share knowledge amongst communities about the gentrification of council estates and alternatives to demolition and displacement in London (Lees and Ferreri 2016, LTF *et al* 2014). My opposition to UCL's proposal and my support for a community-led alternative motivated me to take up opportunities to help with policy analysis to support the community planning process, along with Professor Jennifer Robinson and a number of other UCL staff and students. This work then opened up other opportunities more closely linked to my research interests. One of the four main proposals which came out of the first community planning workshop was for existing local businesses to have the right to remain in the local area. As a starting point, the group wanted to produce a Business Directory listing the businesses operating within the area and to invite them to participate in the next workshop. In November 2012, Richard Lee asked me to help with this task. I went on to help develop the local economy proposals for the community plan, survey local businesses and support them in engaging with the community planning process, agreeing with

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<sup>44</sup> Interviews with Neale Coleman (LLDC and Mayoral Advisor on Tottenham) and Paul Brickell (LLDC).

Just Space, LTF, CARP! and the businesses I interviewed that I could draw upon this work for the purpose of my research.

At the time, I gave little thought to the implications of working in support of a community planning process led by a third party, being focussed on challenging the UCL proposal and supporting the development of a community-led plan in whatever way I could. Businesses were keen to speak with me, due to the threat of UCL's proposals, and local economy was a regular topic of discussion within community planning meetings. Troubled by and wishing to distance myself from the damaging actions of my university, I identified strongly with the Carpenters group.<sup>45</sup> After UCL withdrew its proposals, however, businesses became less closely involved and the residents' focus shifted towards establishing a statutory Neighbourhood Forum to turn the evolving community plan into a Neighbourhood Plan that would form part of the formal local planning framework under the Localism Act 2011. When a number of different residents' groups joined together, the number of third parties involved multiplied and the energies and efforts of Just Space, LTF and others were taken up with the difficult work of mediating between groups and establishing a shared agenda. Ideas which had emerged from the earlier community planning process for a business forum and local economy projects fell by the wayside.<sup>46</sup> I found this disappointing, frustrating and difficult but eventually accepted that further help and support on local economy was not needed at this time.

When Just Space and LTF set up a local community planning network in the wider area, known as the 'Newham Network' to bring local groups together to engage with more strategic planning issues, in particular the development of the first local plan of the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC),<sup>47</sup> I saw this as a possible alternative way of developing my work with the Carpenters Community Plan group. This initiative was part of a broader project, for which LTF had secured a small amount of funding from the Trust for London, to set up several community planning networks to assist local groups to

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<sup>45</sup> RD 24/05/13 and 03/09/13.

<sup>46</sup> A2 24/09/13; RD 02/07/13, 29/08/13, 05/09/13 and 03/10/13.



understand and engage with forthcoming plans and developments in three 'Olympic' boroughs (Newham, Hackney and Greenwich) and three Opportunity Areas, with planning policy support from Just Space, including through mentoring UCL student volunteers.<sup>48</sup> Richard Lee (Just Space) and Sharon Hayward (LTF) were open to my ideas for how the Newham Network could be used to connect local residents and businesses to engage with the economic aspects of planning: the two priority topics LTF wished to address through the project were homes and jobs.<sup>49</sup> Enthused and relieved by the chance further to develop my work in the area, I quickly wrote an extensive proposal (Appendix 2, Part Bii) which I agreed with Just Space and LTF.

In this case, the work I went on to do evolved rather differently from that originally set out. The competing demands of my other projects at this time meant that I had insufficient time for the organising work that would be needed to draw significant numbers of businesses into the Newham Network. While initially I felt disappointed about my failure to do so, I came to see that I could not build alliances between residents and businesses on my own, that this was not the priority of the Newham Network organisers nor participants and that, while my contribution was valued, my role was limited to that of student helper.<sup>50</sup> As I came to recognise and accept the constraints on my ability to contribute to collective knowledge and action, I became better able to recognise, contribute to and learn from the possibilities it nonetheless offered to mobilise diverse economic actors and build new representations of the local economy to challenge the LLDC local plan through the formal EiP process.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> As the LLDC includes parts of the boroughs of Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest, as well as Newham, the (so-called) 'Newham Network' in fact extended well beyond Newham. In addition, Just Space and LTF also convened a small number of meetings of a Hackney Network and a Greenwich Network (also an 'Olympic borough'). However, the Newham Network was the group which engaged with the emerging LLDC local plan.

<sup>48</sup> Sharon Hayward, personal communication, 22 May 2017, Richard Lee, personal communication, 6 July 2017; see also LTF (2013).

<sup>49</sup> Richard Lee (Just Space), personal communication, 6 July 2017.

<sup>50</sup> RD 03/09/13, 11/09/13, 11/10/13, 21/10/13 and 05/03/14.

<sup>51</sup> A2 21/08/13, 08/05/14 and 22/08/14.

#### 4.4.3 *Joining the struggle for inclusive, community-led development in Tottenham*



*Figure 4.2 Panoramic view of the Wards Corner city block from the opposite side of Tottenham High Street. The empty corner building, the Wards building, is on the far left, to the right of which is Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa, with several units facing directly out onto the High Street, including Pueblito Paisa café. Source: Pam Isherwood (WCC), with permission.*

In the case of WCC (and later Our Tottenham), I found it difficult and uncomfortable to combine individual activist and academic positionalities. I identified as an activist from the start, joining WCC long before I was able to develop a specific collaborative action research project which could contribute to the campaign rather than distract from and weaken it. WCC is a broad and informal alliance of market traders, local businesses, residents and supporters whose campaign to save Wards Corner dates back to late 2007 (WCC nd a). A rather longer introduction is therefore needed in order properly to situate my own more recent research and involvement in the campaign.

Wards Corner (Figure 4.2) gets its name from the early Edwardian department store, Wards Furnishing Store, which occupied what is now known as the ‘corner building’ or the ‘Wards building’, left empty and to fall into disrepair by its owners, London Underground Limited (LUL), since 1972 (WCC nd a). Today, it includes two other locally-listed historic buildings, a 60-unit indoor market (Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa) providing Latin American goods and services amongst others, independent small businesses, including several which directly meet the needs of Tottenham’s ethnically diverse population, as well as housing above the retail units and on the quiet residential road that runs along the back of the block. The occupation and ownership of the site is complex, including multiple freeholders (including Haringey Council, LUL,

Grainger and some commercial and residential owner-occupiers), leaseholders, tenants and licensed market traders (Haringey Council 2016).

Wards Corner was first earmarked for redevelopment in 2003 (Haringey Council 2004, Allen *et al* 2012). The Council's development brief attracted opposition early on from a range of interests and perspectives. Local resident Sue Penny spoke on behalf of a network of Tottenham Green residents to Haringey Council's Regeneration Scrutiny Panel in November 2003 (WCC nd b). The network opposed the proposal to grant 'conservation area consent' to demolish Wards Corner, calling instead for immediate repair and restoration of the long-neglected historic buildings, more involvement of local people and celebration and support of Seven Sisters market. The market operator, Jill Oakley, also criticised the Council for preventing smaller-scale restoration and development from taking place on the site and for ignoring and destroying the efforts she and the market traders had made (WCC nd b). Four years later, shortly after Haringey Council entered into a Development Agreement with Grainger in August 2007, some of the Latin American market traders hired an architect to draw up an alternative vision based on retaining and restoring the historic Wards building and supporting and growing Seven Sisters market (WCC nd a). While the original development brief in theory included possibilities for both incremental and wholesale redevelopment, Grainger's proposals involved total demolition of the Wards Corner site, replacing it with large retail outlets aimed at high street chains and unaffordable private housing (Allen *et al* 2012).

In February 2008, WCC was formally launched at a public meeting attended by over 350 people (WCC nd c), emerging '[i]n the absence of any other participative or democratic opportunities for people to have a say on how Wards Corner is transformed' and from 'the commitment, anger and talents of local people' (WCC nd d np). A group of traders and residents formed a deputation under the umbrella of WCC to challenge the Council's approach to the development of Wards Corner on various counts, including failure to consider restoration rather than demolition, destruction and exclusion of Seven Sisters market and its traders, failure to consult, failure to consider and protect the well-being and rights of local residents and traders and lack of confidence in

the Bridge New Deal for Communities (NDC). The deputation asked the Council to support WCC's efforts to 'get behind the people of South Tottenham in all their diversity and promote the Community Plan and the principles underlying it' (*ibid*). The threat of demolition therefore mobilised a wide range of groups and interests concerned about particular issues - long-standing neglect of Seven Sisters/West Green Road town centre, further damage to historic buildings, lack of consultation and involvement, threats to Seven Sisters market, etc. These diverse groups and interests began to show solidarity with each other's causes and concerns at an early stage in the development process.



*Figure 4.3 The community plan for Wards Corner. Source: Abigail Stevenson, with permission.*

The Coalition served as a vehicle for solidarity and cooperation for different groups and interests to come together to challenge the Grainger plan and to develop and pursue an alternative community plan (Figure 4.3) ever since. At the heart of WCC are its weekly Monday evening meetings, held either at Pueblito Paisa Cafe at the front of the market or at Pause, a Polish café round the corner on Seven Sisters Road (shown at numbers 9 and 12 in Figure 7.1), and several email lists. The weekly meetings and the email lists provide the central mechanisms for collective discussion and decision-making within the Coalition, which has no formal constitution, leadership structure nor process (Allen *et al* 2012, WCC nd e). The Coalition has pursued a wide range of tactics and activities (Box 4.1) but is perhaps best-known for its large events and

demonstrations, its legal challenges (one successful) and its community plan to restore the Wards building, improving and expanding trading and community spaces. At different moments in the Coalition's history, different people have participated in the everyday work of attending WCC meetings, discussing decisions and plans on email lists, taking responsibility for particular tasks and initiatives and attending events and demonstrations.

**WCC tactics and activities (2008-15)**

Responding to Grainger's planning applications.  
 Making deputations to key Haringey Council planning and regeneration committee meetings.  
 Pursuing legal challenges of Haringey Council's decision making.  
 Appealing to the Mayor of London to use his powers to call in and in other ways to influence Grainger's plans.  
 Developing community plans, and formally submitting them for planning permission.  
 Challenging the negative narratives of Wards Corner used by Grainger and Haringey Council and developing alternative, empowering narratives.  
 Attractive branding.  
 Building and mobilising online communications and support networks.  
 Holding innovative and creative events and rallies, including large public meetings, a 'hug the block' demonstration and a Latin American ambassadors' dinner.  
 Fundraising through collection boxes, second hand sales, plant sales, ticketed events and selling food and drinks, many donated by members.  
 Making use of voluntary professional and expert services where possible, in particular architects and designers to work on the community plans.  
 Supporting and shaping the development of the West Green Road/Seven Sisters Development Trust.

*Box 4.1 A summary of the tactics and activities of WCC between 2008 and 2015. Source: the author.*

Local residents, market traders, local businesses and London's Latin American community have also continued to organise themselves and mobilise their own networks in many other ways. Some of WCC's most active members – Sue Penny, Pam Isherwood, Candy Amsden and Shirley Hanazawa - are local residents who have been effective in mobilising support from Page Green, Clyde Area and other neighbouring residents' associations. Local business owners Moaz Nanjuwany and Raul Mancera have sought to make the most of their leadership of the Tottenham Traders Partnership and the North East London branch of the Federation of Small Businesses to build opposition to the Grainger proposal and support for the community plan. Victoria Alvarez, Marta Hinestroza, Mirca Morera and several other traders at Seven Sisters market

have played an important role in informing and organising others about the various threats they face, holding regular meetings, providing Spanish translation for non-English speakers and assisting with individual cases. Various Latin American organisations and networks in London have also mobilised significant support for Seven Sisters market at various points during the campaign, including through the efforts of Carlos Burgos (Pedro Achata Trust). In 2008, Carlos Burgos, Victoria Alvarez, Raul Mancera and Lagu Sukumaran (owner of one of the largest retail units on the Wards Corner block) set up the West Green Road/Seven Sisters Development Trust (the Trust) to provide a vehicle for future community-led development at Wards Corner and throughout the wider town centre. While these various groups and networks were more or less active and connected with one another at different times, they consistently and strongly mobilised in support of one another at key strategic moments throughout the long campaign.

When I got involved in WCC in early 2013, the Coalition was focused on pursuing and fundraising for a second judicial review of Haringey Council's decision to award planning permission to Grainger's development plans. My involvement began on a personal basis, as a local resident, although I ultimately hoped to be able to include WCC within my PhD in some way. I began going to meetings, and gradually started taking on everyday tasks as I learnt about the Coalition's current work and became more knowledgeable, capable and confident. For example, I wrote notes of meetings, attended local events, fundraised by baking cakes and collecting second hand items for sale and contributed to press notices and consultation responses. In the process, I learnt that the Coalition regularly received requests from students, researchers, architects, film-makers and photographers for information and access in order to pursue their projects. While WCC generally responded positively to these requests, they rarely received copies of the materials produced or experienced the positive impact promised.<sup>52</sup> Informal conversations with WCC members suggested to me that the uncertainty, lack of momentum and capacity being experienced by the Coalition (discussed in more detail below) meant that it was not the right moment for me to propose a new research collaboration that would inevitably make demands of the group. I focused my attention on what I could

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<sup>52</sup> RD 17/04/13.

do from within the campaign, for example, preparing a (successful) application to list Wards Corner as an Asset of Community Value, contributing to the work of submitting and securing the validation of the community plan, writing responses to consultations and, later on, working towards delivering the community plan.<sup>53</sup> Through this work, I gradually became one of the more active members of WCC, providing new energy and enthusiasm at a key moment in the campaign. Unwilling to totally let go of the possibility of including WCC within my PhD studies in some way, however, I continued to reflect on my experiences in my research diary and collected relevant materials, often feeling uncomfortable about the relationship between my (hoped-for) research and activism.<sup>54</sup>

The technical demands of pursuing a judicial review and then, when all possibilities for legal challenge had been exhausted, finalising the latest version of the community plan were shouldered by the small number of people actively involved in WCC at the time.<sup>55</sup> Only around four to six people attended weekly meetings, and even fewer had sufficient time, capacity, knowledge or skills to undertake the difficult, technical work required at the time. With WCC's few available resources focused on the judicial review and then finalising and re-submitting the community plan, there remained little capacity to mobilise support and resources amongst the Coalition's various networks and beyond. Several of the most active and influential members became overloaded, stressed, frustrated and disheartened. Their eventual withdrawal left the Coalition even more fragile, and increasingly unrepresentative in its everyday activities of the diverse groups and interests it intended to serve. While Wards Corner traders, businesses and customers came from many different migrant and ethnic minority groups, by early 2014 the majority of participants in WCC's weekly meetings and email discussions were over 50s, white British women.

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<sup>53</sup> A3 10/12/13, 16/12/13, 08/01/14, 04/02/14, 04/03/14 and 06/03/14; RD 19/12/13 and 10/02/14.

<sup>54</sup> RD 11/03/13, 30/04/13, 09/05/13, 21/08/13, 24/08/13, 28/08/13, 29/08/13, 03/09/13, 06/09/13, 09/09/13, 11/09/13, 12/09/13, 30/09/13 and 04/12/13.

<sup>55</sup> Several previous versions of the plan had already been produced - including two which were the initiative of El Pueblito Paisa Ltd - but had never been 'validated' by Haringey Council, that is found to meet all the technical requirements of a planning application prior to going out to consultation. At this time, work was under way to respond to the latest set of feedback and additional material needed in order to re-submit the community plan for validation.

After WCC and the Trust submitted the revised community plan,<sup>56</sup> I therefore decided to focus my efforts within the Coalition on trying to find ways to increase the involvement and representation of market traders and small businesses. I started by printing several copies of the community plan and taking them round to Wards Corner traders and businesses.<sup>57</sup> The majority of people had not been involved in preparing the plan for re-submission and several years had passed since the community events had been held to produce it in the first place. When I was asked by another member of WCC to demonstrate a 3D interactive version of the community plan before it was formally launched, known as 'Sticky World', I saw this as an important opportunity to improve involvement of market traders and small businesses at Wards Corner at a crucial moment in the campaign. I also saw it as the opportunity I had long been waiting for to develop a specific collaborative action research project which would contribute to the campaign, rather than distract from and weaken it.<sup>58</sup> I wrote a proposal setting out my ideas and discussed and agreed it with other WCC members, enabling me for the first time to incorporate research with my activism in what I felt was a transparent, specific and useful way (Appendix 2, Part Biii).

This proposal was rather more tightly defined than the others I developed with other groups, but even the completion of some elements proved not to be possible within the limited time I had. On the other hand, the material generated through the interviews also had unexpected uses several years after they had contributed to securing planning permission for the community plan, most importantly in challenging Haringey Council's proposals to use Compulsory Purchase Order powers to facilitate the Grainger development in October 2016 (M. Taylor 2016, 2017; Appendix 1, Part Cii). While such proposals can be useful in providing a starting point for combining activism with research, it is also important to recognise their limitations as a basis for guiding longer-term collaborations and involvement.

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<sup>56</sup> The community plan was submitted in the name of WCC and the Trust because it was understood that a plan submitted by an unincorporated campaigning group such as WCC would not receive planning permission (Shirley Hanazawa, personal communication, 17 May 2017).

<sup>57</sup> A3 21/01/14 and 24/02/14.

<sup>58</sup> RD 21/08/13, 06/09/13 and 05/12/13; A3 05/12/13.



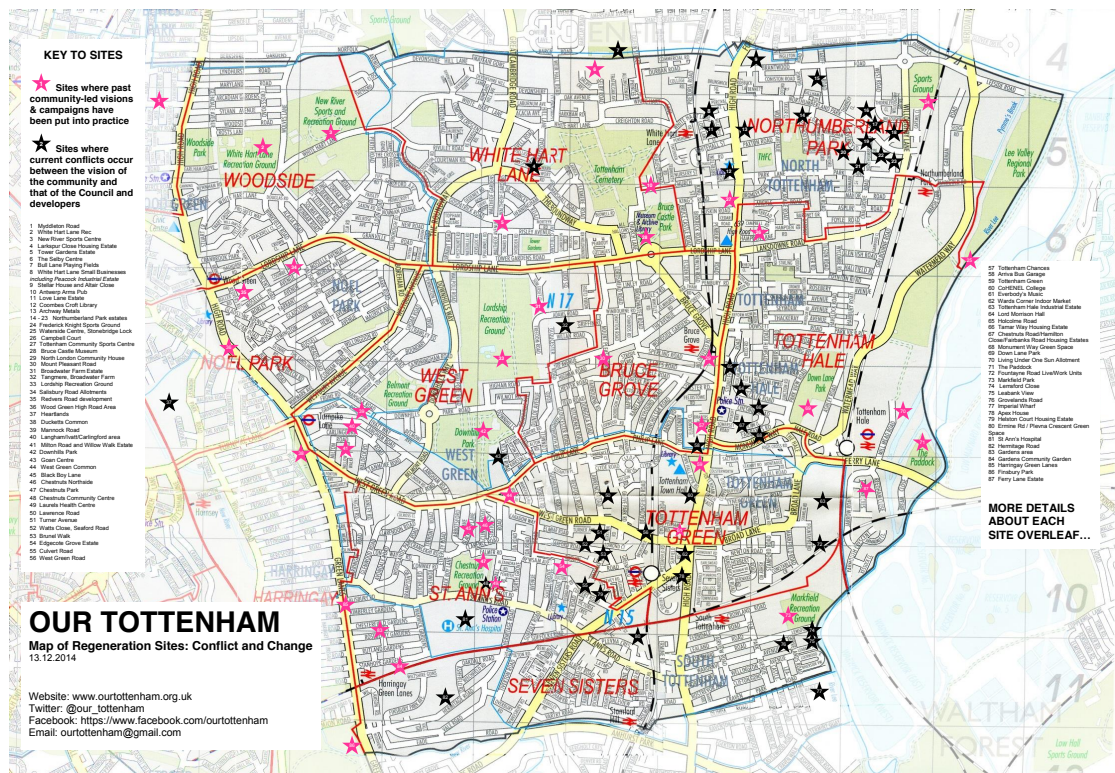


Figure 4.4 Map of Tottenham showing sites where past community-led visions and campaigns have been put into practice (pink stars) and sites where communities are contesting plans and development proposals (black stars). Source: Our Tottenham, with permission.

My involvement in WCC also opened up the opportunity for involvement in local economy activism across Tottenham. In March 2013, a member of WCC asked me to facilitate a workshop on supporting small businesses on behalf of the Coalition at a conference being held to launch Our Tottenham (OT), a new Tottenham-wide community planning and regeneration network that WCC had been involved in setting up. I saw this as the chance to take on a more substantial role for WCC that was closely related to my research interests and started attending planning meetings for the first OT conference. OT emerged from a proposal from Haringey Solidarity Group (HSG)<sup>59</sup> for a conference to connect the groups and communities affected by Haringey Council's Plan for Tottenham (HSG 2012, OT 2013a and 2013b; Figure 4.4). Prior to the formation of OT, HSG had developed a substantial critique of Haringey Council's Plan for Tottenham—suggesting it would lead to rent increases for private tenants,

<sup>59</sup> HSG's roots can be traced back to Haringey's Anti-Poll Tax group, which continued to be active under the name of HSG after the Poll Tax was withdrawn. HSG initiates, participates in and supports local campaigns and initiatives, with the overarching aim of 'get[ting] rid of the current system which places profit and power before people's real needs' (HSG nd np). HSG meets monthly and publishes the 'Totally Independent' newsletter around three times a year.

demolition of council housing, removal of homeless families, threats to small businesses and to ethnic minorities—and had begun to draw up a list of demands (HSG 2012).

Early statements produced by the OT conference organising group set out the network's concerns, celebrated the many examples of successful community-led regeneration throughout Tottenham (shown in pink at Figure 4.3) and called on local people to come together to develop 'a clear and viable alternative' and to launch a 'community planning and regeneration action network to spread co-operation and solidarity throughout Tottenham's neighbourhoods' (Our Tottenham 2013b). By the time of the conference on 6 April 2013, Our Tottenham was supported by 21 local groups, including WCC, Lord Morrison Hall/Afro International, Friends of Lordship Rec, Tottenham Civic Society, Defend Haringey Health Services and Haringey Defend Council Housing.<sup>60</sup> 110 people attended from over 30 local groups (Our Tottenham 2013c). The workshops held during the conference (including on supporting small businesses) generated material which was debated and endorsed by the whole conference, producing a community charter which guided the network's subsequent activities and was used as a means of regulating membership, 'open to all organisations based or substantially based in Tottenham who agree broadly with the Aims [set out in the charter]' (Our Tottenham 2013d).

At the beginning of 2014, working groups were set up on some of the action areas defined in the charter – stand up for decent and affordable housing for all; support small businesses (later renamed 'support the local economy'); defend community facilities and develop local community plans. I was pleased to be asked by a member of OT to take on the role of 'rep' for the local economy working group (OTLE)<sup>61</sup> and shortly afterwards agreed with the network that I could draw on this work for my PhD study. While I first got involved in OT as an activist, my role in OTLE therefore encompassed both activism and research from the beginning, reducing some of the tensions and conflicts I had felt in my work with WCC. I developed a short proposal (Appendix 2, Part Biv) following discussions with some OT members which was then approved by the network.

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<sup>60</sup> A3 06/04/13.

During 2014, I organised and facilitated regular OTLE meetings to progress the actions on local economy set out in the OT charter. As in other cases, however, some ideas floundered due to insufficient resources and capacity within the group and, in my case, the demands of juggling commitments to several groups.<sup>62</sup>

#### **4.5 Collaborative action research for contested urban economies**

Through the uncomfortable process of working through the conflicts and contradictions in my efforts to combine research with activism, I arrived at a collaborative action research method for contesting urban economies. I gradually started to see that my practice was contributing to mobilising diverse economic actors, building shared knowledge about diverse economic activities and challenging and developing alternatives to plans and development proposals that threatened economic diversity. In the process of building alliances between residents and businesses, common ground was established and knowledge about London's diverse economy was shared, which was then put into action both through the formal participatory process required to formalise strategic and local plans and through public events, community plans and other collectively-produced publications. As I began to recognise the particular value of my practice, I became less overwhelmed and persecuted by the demands and conflicts I encountered in combining activism with research.

'[F]eeling towards a method' (Latham 2003 p2000), I turned to the central elements within Gibson-Graham's poststructuralist Participatory Action Research (PAR) for insights into the interconnected processes of developing new economic language, becoming new economic subjects and unearthing new possibilities for local economic development (2005 and 2006b, Cameron and Gibson 2005a and 2005b; see also [communityeconomies.org](http://communityeconomies.org)). In these diverse or community economies projects, researchers use participatory mapping and cataloguing techniques in workshops with local people in areas abandoned or ignored by global capitalism, some of whom they train and employ as

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<sup>61</sup> Originally, another member of OT volunteered with me to undertake this role but had to withdraw early on in the process.

<sup>62</sup> RD 21/08/13, 24/08/13, 28/08/13, 29/08/13, 03/09/13, 06/09/13, 09/09/13, 11/09/13, 12/09/13, 30/09/13, 04/12/13 and 15/12/13.

community researchers, to generate alternative representations of a region that document the diverse skills, experiences and activities of the community. They then create spaces in which community members can informally and playfully explore and experiment with taking on new identities as economic subjects in relation to these alternative representations, beginning 'to imagine the various ways in which they might act on their abilities and ideas' (Cameron and Gibson 2005b p281). The researchers go on to work with community members to support them in pursuing some of their ideas for practical projects for community enterprises (Cameron and Gibson 2005b, Gibson-Graham 2005).

In this thesis, I use Gibson-Graham's poststructuralist PAR as a tool for drawing out the new economic language, subjects and possibilities for collective action as they emerged through collaborative action research with some of London's emerging economic alliances. Like PAR more generally, this approach has attracted criticism for being 'top-down', embroiling local communities in researcher-led projects based on the specific theories and ideas which the researchers are committed to rather than those of interest to those with whom they are working (Harney *et al* 2016; see also Gibson-Graham 2006a). Relatedly, several of these PAR projects ran into problems of sustainability and resourcing at the end of the formal research period (Cameron and Gibson 2005a and 2005b, Gibson-Graham 2005). I suggest that collaborative action research offers an alternative to PAR which makes more space for the ideas, goals and ways of working of collaborating groups.

#### *4.5.1 Mobilising diverse economic actors*

The first element of my research method involved mobilising diverse economic actors by identifying groups and individuals ignored, marginalised or threatened by strategic/local planning debates and attempting to draw them into the group meetings and events I was organising. This involved identifying and making connections with relevant groups and individuals, organising and facilitating meetings and events, agreeing activities and issues to focus on and maintaining group email lists and/or websites. Making and sustaining connections between rather different groups and individuals took considerable effort, care and time. This work was slow and iterative, made up of hundreds of everyday activities

sustained over time. In the case of JSEP and OTLE, I was responsible for organising and facilitating meetings and events, connecting with a wide range of community and small business groups and interested academics, in line with collective decisions and priorities. In the case of the Newham Network and the Carpenters Community Plan group, my role was limited to drawing local businesses into the activities led by Just Space and LTF. I focussed my efforts within WCC on increasing the involvement and representation of market traders and small businesses. In all cases, London's escalating workspace crisis and the threat of displacement motivated a wide range of economic actors to enter into alliances with residents and community groups in order to challenge the plans and developments which threatened their shared interests and values.

Alliances between residents, small businesses, market traders, industrial enterprises and allied researchers, architects and other supporters were gradually built and sustained through these activities. Meetings and events provided a space in which residents and businesses could explore their aims and interests, gradually identifying issues of common concern on which they focussed their activities and efforts. Through these discussions, diverse economic actors began to draw on their own economic knowledge and experience in order to articulate new representations of the role and contribution of ignored, marginalised or threatened activities. Residents and businesses began a process of relating to one another as the political and interconnected subjects of London's diverse economy, from which position it became possible to develop visions and propositions in which the needs and goals of residents and businesses were connected with one another. A key part of my role was to gather together the knowledge, experience and ideas shared in meetings in relation to the areas of common concern and shared interest identified through collective discussion, for example in notes of meetings and events, statements of purpose/intent and consultation responses. Collective documents were discussed in meetings and further developed through additional contributions from group members.

I made use of a number of techniques in order to extract data for this PhD from my work to mobilise diverse economic actors. The basic elements of ethnographic research – participant observation, interviews and archival

research – can also be used in collaborative, participatory and activist research (Angrosino 2007, Kitchin and Tate 2000, Watson and Till 2010, Whatmore 2003). Participant observation requires the researcher to keep detailed notes during the processes and activities they are observing, after which notes are quickly written up into field notes (Bernard 2002). In this case, the notes I took during meetings and events were primarily intended to produce material for use in ongoing collaborative knowledge production and collective action, as well as generating material for later use in this PhD thesis.<sup>63</sup> I collected documents produced by the groups I was involved with, relevant emails and electronic documents and my own notes into an ‘action research archive’. I also recorded and transcribed all JSEP meetings as this was my main case study, discussions tended to be fast-paced, very relevant and extended and because I felt relatively confident and comfortable in my role in the group. I did not routinely record meetings in other cases, either because I was invited in to support a particular aspect of a broader project led by a third party or because I identified first and foremost as an activist, but instead sought permission to record a small sub-set of key strategic discussions particularly relevant to my research, in particular the review meetings that I conducted with both JSEP and OTLE towards the end of my ‘fieldwork’ period in October 2014.

I came to see these meetings and events as alternatives to individual interviews with participants, gathering together knowledge, experience and ideas through collective discussions where they could generate new subjectivities and possibilities for action. There are some parallels here with Kerr’s (2003) public interviews of homeless people live on a community radio show and his screenings of video material in public areas, through which he got homeless people talking to each other, rather than to the researcher. In these ways, the research ‘emboldened homeless people [themselves] to act and become agents for social change’ (p27). In a similar way, Kruzynski’s collaboration with a neighbourhood organisation involved small group discussions with activists themselves, rather than interviews, so that, ‘[i]nstead of taking the raw historical material out of the community to be interpreted and distributed in academic circles, the history was built up from the grassroots, *by and for* the folks who lived and continue to live that very history’ (2006 p11). To

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<sup>63</sup> RD 08/07/13 and 30/08/13.

allow myself the opportunity to record and reflect on issues which were difficult to consider during often fast-paced meetings and events, I supplemented my notes, recordings and documents with personal reflections noted down in a research diary between meetings and activities, or at the end of the day, catching up as soon as possible during particularly busy periods.<sup>64</sup> Appendix 2 lists the contents of my action research archives (Part C), research diary entries (Part D) and meetings recorded and transcribed (Part E), providing extracts from each by way of example. These methods allowed me to extract data for my PhD which remained embedded in and connected with the collective action research which produced it.

#### *4.5.2 Building shared knowledge about diverse economic activities*

The second element of this method involved drawing together and building upon the experience and knowledge shared in meetings in order to articulate the role and contribution of diverse economic activities, challenging the way they were represented in strategic/local plans and development proposals. As residents and businesses built common ground and shared knowledge, they built new narratives about the local economy and new propositions for more inclusive urban economic development in which they were included, valued and strengthened through their connections with one another. I further strengthened this shared knowledge by gathering relevant research and used my academic skills and knowledge – and access to library resources and printing – to identify, summarise, distribute and make use of relevant research, in particular in consultations and public examinations. I also approached groups and individuals to present at meetings and events and respond to consultations, opening up possibilities for collaboration. My work with the Carpenters Community Plan group and WCC also included action-oriented interviews with local businesses, which I describe in the rest of this section.

The local economy survey I conducted on the Carpenters Estate had its roots in residents' desire to retain and strengthen local businesses. It was a process of discovery that began with their everyday knowledge of the businesses in the area, knowledge which they contributed in community

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<sup>64</sup> RD 29/08/13, 24/09/13 and 05/11/13.

planning meetings and in a 'walkabout' of the local area in December 2012. Afterwards, I visited these businesses and organisations, collecting contact information, introducing UCL's proposal and the community plan, and encouraging them to get involved. These visits began to reveal previously invisible economic activities, new narratives about the strength and diversity of the local economy and common ground between residents and businesses. After the second Carpenters community planning workshop, I visited local businesses again in order to generate information for the plan and discuss and develop the emerging local economy proposals. Through interviews and further discussions, I gathered information about local businesses to strengthen the narrative of the local economy, tested out residents' proposals for the local economy with businesses and asked about their previous experience of regeneration and development schemes. These interviews provided a starting point for a sustained engagement with Carpenters businesses over time, through which I was able to help them engage with the community planning process and build alliances with residents. My 'business engagement role' included alerting businesses to major developments (e.g. UCL's withdrawal, the publication of the draft LLDC plan), encouraging them to attend community planning workshops and meetings with LLDC planners, getting their views on the draft community plan, and seeking their help in hosting meetings, collecting consultation forms or contributing materials for an exhibition. I also organised two meetings of local businesses in May and July 2013, with the aim of forming a Carpenters Business Forum.

The action-oriented interviews I conducted with market traders and small businesses at Wards Corner were embedded in a community planning process that was much more advanced, in which I had already played a part as a member of WCC. As explained in Section 4.4.3, the original motivation for the interviews was to introduce the 'Sticky World' model to market traders and businesses before it was launched in March 2014. As this launch by chance coincided with the formal six-week consultation on the community plan for Wards Corner, I proposed that the online platform could be used to inform and support traders, businesses and their customers in responding to the consultation. I also saw the opportunity to conduct a survey that could update WCC's contact information for traders and local businesses and generate new



representations of the local economy which could be used to make the case for retaining and supporting existing enterprises through the community plan, as well as in the Coalition's broader efforts to challenge the Grainger plan. I hoped this information could feed into a Tottenham-wide survey of the local economy which OTLE had proposed. I also felt that a series of discussions with market traders and small businesses could be helpful in reconnecting them with the active work of WCC and the Trust, from which they had become somewhat disconnected, both in order to continue to oppose Grainger's plans and to work towards delivering the community plan if planning permission was secured. These action-oriented interviews generated a rich narrative about the entwined economic and community value of the activity taking place at Wards Corner, as well as innovative ideas and actions which helped to secure planning permission for the community plan and to begin to build a community development vehicle from a campaigning group.

These interviews aimed not to generate representative findings or 100% accurate and complete figures but rather to gather data which could be used to challenge the negative representation of the local economy in plans and development proposals and to build relationships, knowledge and ideas for ongoing community planning processes. These aims therefore necessitated the adaptation of standard academic interviewing methods and practices, including sampling, questionnaires, data extraction, consent and anonymity. While I aimed to speak to as many Carpenters businesses and organisations as possible, those who were hostile or nervous about getting involved in a community-led plan were not willing to speak to me. In the case of Wards Corner, I aimed to interview the most influential market traders, businesses and other local actors – identified through discussions with other WCC members - in order to mobilise the largest number of people to respond to the consultation on the community plan. These efforts and strategies resulted in 12 Carpenters interviews and 13 Wards Corner interviews (Appendix 2, Parts Fi and Gi). In addition, I and other WCC members spoke to many other people and had many informal conversations with the same individuals in order to encourage and help them mobilise their own networks and relationships to build support for the community plan.

Topic lists and questionnaires were agreed with each group, covering the agreed issues (Appendix 2, Part Fii and Gii). I used a standard, semi-structured approach to qualitative interviewing (Sayer 2010), asking open ended questions and allowing a dialogue to develop freely, while also ensuring I collected the key information required for the community planning process. I noted down this information during the Carpenters interviews so as to be able quickly to extract it to share with residents and others at the next community planning workshop. In the case of Wards Corner, I extracted this information during the interview itself directly into the online 3D interactive Sticky World model and to the Council's consultation on the community plan. I also recorded and transcribed discussions so as to draw on this more detailed information in my PhD (examples of transcript extracts are at Appendix 2, Part Fiii and Giii). Some Wards Corner interviews were conducted in Spanish and later translated and directly transcribed into English.<sup>65</sup> Several longer-standing WCC members accompanied me on my visits to Wards Corner, including Shirley Hanazawa, Candy Amsden, Sara Hall and Sue Penny, introducing me to the traders they knew and participating in the discussions. Two members of OTLE who intended to conduct similar surveys in other parts of Tottenham also attended some of the discussions.

I sought consent from interviewees to use the material in both the community planning process and in my PhD research, seeking verbal consent in the case of the Carpenters interviews and, as I became more confident and experienced in combining academic research with community planning, written consent in the case of Wards Corner. In this case, I adapted a standard academic consent form to show how the information provided would feed into both the ongoing community planning process at Wards as well as my own PhD thesis (Appendix 2, Part Giv). Producing a written form prompted me to offer Wards Corner interviewees the option of anonymity in my study but most people did not take this option up, being accustomed to speaking out about their cause and wanting to gain more publicity for it. I did not offer Carpenters interviewees the option of anonymity because it was important for the community planning process that the information gathered remained connected with each

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<sup>65</sup> I used some of the funding available to me for fieldwork costs through the ESRC to pay for some of the interviews I had conducted in Spanish to be transcribed and translated into English.

business.<sup>66</sup> Where possible, I refer to individuals by their own names in this study, in order to acknowledge the legitimacy and authorship of the knowledge and experience they contributed to the community planning process and, in turn, their contribution to the analysis I am able to present in this thesis (see also, Katz 1994, Benson and Nagar 2006, Nagar in consultation with Ali and Sangatin women's collective 2006).

#### *4.5.3 Challenging and developing alternatives to plans and development proposals which threaten economic diversity*

Finally, the third element of the method involved working with residents and businesses to put these new subjectivities and representations into action. The focus of groups' action was different in each case, including participating in formal consultations and EiPs for metropolitan/local plans as well as alternative self-organised initiatives, for example, public events, collective publications and community plans. Thus, while JSEP's primary goal was to increase participation in London Plan EiPs on economic issues, the group mobilised diverse economic actors through its own events, seminars, email list and blog as well as the EiP itself. Similarly, while OTLE was focussed on advancing its own vision of local economic development, it also contributed to OT's response to consultations on the emerging Tottenham Area Action Plan. The Carpenters Community Plan group and WCC progressed a particularly wide range of activities, including meetings with planning officials, responding to consultations, demonstrations and community events, legal campaigns, listing assets of community value and advancing their own community-led proposals. By contrast, the Newham Network was focussed on the emerging LLDC local plan, although it did occasionally discuss other topics.

Through JSEP, I gradually gained the skills and knowledge needed to support others (including with the Newham Network and OTLE) by learning from Robin Brown, Michael Edwards, Richard Lee and other Just Space members whose considerable experience in London Plan EiPs made them confident in navigating their way through the complicated, multi-staged consultation and EiP process and in facilitating mutual support and co-learning

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<sup>66</sup> One interviewee wished to be referred to only using the business name.

(Brown *et al* 2014). One or several workshops would be held to discuss a draft plan and develop consultation responses. My research skills were particularly relevant to the task of analysing the economic studies underpinning plans which, as explained in Chapter 1 and 3, became a major focus of groups' efforts in light of the requirement to test the evidence underpinning the planning framework through the EiP process. I prepared summaries so that group members could more quickly and easily access and understand the lengthy and complex material. Meetings would focus on discussing views and responses to the economic aspects of the draft plan, as well as supporting evidence and examples. I would then work with others to develop a shared consultation response, which different groups and individuals could adapt and extend as they wished. I organised further meetings and workshops as the consultation and public examination process continued, for instance, to discuss how to respond to the issues (known as 'Matters') which the Planning Inspector proposed to focus on in the EiP; to prepare written responses to those Matters; and to prepare to give oral evidence in person at the – rather formal and intimidating – EiP itself.<sup>67</sup> Throughout, my role was to assist groups in navigating their way through these complex, lengthy and technical processes, to develop shared responses and positions and to support each other where possible. Participating in the EiPs myself also helped me to understand how to construct arguments in relation to the specifics of the Matters selected by the Planning Inspector for consideration, making use of evidence wherever possible. Like others, I found the EiP intimidating and difficult to follow and was grateful to be participating alongside others whom I knew supported the arguments I presented.

The consultation and EiP process attracted a greater diversity and number of economic actors to participate in the activities of JSEP, the Newham Network and OTLE. As diverse economic actors were drawn into these discussions, the groups were able to draw on their knowledge and experience to develop further their emerging narratives about London's economy and their propositions for more inclusive urban economic development. The space of the EiP itself provided a key opportunity for groups to represent themselves and

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<sup>67</sup> It was only in the case of JSEP the consultation and EiP process concluded by the end of my 'fieldwork' period at the end of October 2014. See Section 4.6.

their interests in strategic planning debates. The consultation and EiP process was also powerfully productive of other possibilities, in particular in the case of the strongest group, JSEP.

#### **4.6 Writing a thesis from collective knowledge and action**

The 155 research diary entries I made between March 2013 and October 2014 clearly communicate the demands and tensions involved in combining activism with research (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010, Mason *et al* 2013, Routledge 1996, M. Taylor 2014). Once opportunities for collaborative action research had emerged and been agreed, I faced the challenge of juggling my activities across five different groups and multiple ongoing planning processes whose timing I had no control over.<sup>68</sup> I felt under particular pressure when major work with different groups was needed at the same time.<sup>69</sup> I struggled to protect time for the requirements and opportunities of PhD work, such as writing in my research diary, organising my action research archive and transcribing recordings of interviews and meetings, as well as supervisions, conferences, training and teaching. I often felt overwhelmed, conflicted and guilty, doubting whether I was doing justice either to my PhD or the groups with which I was working.<sup>70</sup>

Periodically withdrawing from my involvement – whether to go to a conference, write a paper or take a break – helped to open up some distance between myself and the groups I was working with.<sup>71</sup> This distance enabled me to recover my energies and focus and to remind myself of the difficult nature of the work I was undertaking rather than to persecute myself for being unable to do it all. Acknowledging and discussing the challenges of combining activism with research with others also helped me to make sense of my experiences, affirming the importance of spaces of collective debate and mutual support for scholar-activists (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010, Gillan and Pickerill

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<sup>68</sup> RD 21/08/13, 17/12/13, 16/01/14, 22/01/14, 26/02/14 and 21/08/14.

<sup>69</sup> RD 17/03/14, 26/03/14 and 10/04/14.

<sup>70</sup> RD 25/05/13, 21/06/13, 29/08/13, 05/09/13, 24/09/13 and 05/11/13.

<sup>71</sup> RD 05/09/13, 12/02/14, 21/02/14 and 24/04/14.

2012, mrs kinpaisby 2010, Routledge and Derickson 2015, Wynne-Jones *et al* 2015).<sup>72</sup>

Having been working in collaboration with others, I found, like others (e.g. Kruzynski 2006), that my 'return to the academy' to write up my thesis prompted a return of the guilt and anxieties experienced when attempting individually to combine and negotiate academic and activist positionalities. I felt guilty and conflicted about withdrawing from my activism and involvement in order to create the space and time needed for analysis and writing (see also Kerr 2003). In an attempt to ease my discomfort, I extended my 'fieldwork' period and worked as hard as possible for several months in order to complete my remaining commitments and attempt to secure the sustainability of the activities I had supported.<sup>73</sup> During this time, I became focussed on trying to 'solve' several long-running and complex problems within the groups themselves, for example, the frustratingly slow progress WCC and the Trust were making towards delivering the community plan for Wards Corner. I felt partly responsible for these issues, through my involvement, and uncomfortable about developing a more critical perspective on the groups to which I had become committed in my research. I therefore tried to combine my activist and researcher roles by solving these problems so that I could withdraw to write my thesis more comfortably.

Eventually, however, I was able to see beyond the limits not only of my own individual time, resources and efforts but also the broader limits and constraints of the groups I was working with, their struggles and my position in relation to them (Nagar and Geiger 2007). Review meetings held with JSEP and OTLE were helpful in beginning to move beyond my guilt and worries about my own practice towards collective discussions about what had been achieved and what to do next and how.<sup>74</sup> Even in the case of JSEP, the largest group, however, those involved did not have the time or resources necessary to take on my organising role. Patria Roman-Velazquez, Jessica Ferm and Ilinca Diaconescu played an important role in securing JSEP's sustainability over the next year, until resources were found to pay Ilinca Diaconescu to take over the

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<sup>72</sup> RD 30/05/14.

<sup>73</sup> RD 20/05/14, 10/06/14 and 13/08/14.

broader role of JSEP organiser.<sup>75</sup> In the case of WCC and OTLE, I had come to play a fairly central role within what were at this time rather small and poorly resourced groups, making it impossible to hand over my work to others. While I had had a much more limited role in relation to the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network, I found myself confronting again the realities of my position in a broader process led by Just Space and LTF. Withdrawing was therefore emotionally as well as practically demanding work, albeit essential to the process of producing this thesis.

At the end of October 2014, to my great relief, I finally finished my 'fieldwork'. While I undertook further activities with all groups, the analysis presented in this thesis stops at this point, with the exception of the Newham Network and OTLE. In these two cases, I went on to support the subsequent stage of the relevant consultation and EiP process, specifically the LLDC EiP in March 2015 (and a preparatory meeting in February 2015) and the preparation of a consultation response on the second draft Tottenham AAP in March 2015. More broadly, however, as I discuss in Chapter 8, my continuing involvement and connection with these ongoing urban development processes has had an important influence on the analysis developed in this thesis. In Appendix 3, I therefore provide a summary of 'what happened next' in each case, covering the period from November 2014 to August 2017, the time of writing.

As I withdrew from activism and focused increasingly on analysis and writing, I valued the space and time to see things anew.<sup>76</sup> Sitting at a desk, sorting through papers and files, felt radically different from rushing between events, meetings and conversations with others. I began by gathering together, organising and cataloguing the material I had produced, the first stage of analysis (Crang and Cook 2007, Madden 2010). This process revealed over 100 policy documents, transcripts of 32 policy interviews, 155 research diary entries, three action research archives including six lever arch folders of papers and notes and around 1400 electronic documents, and transcripts of 25 action-oriented interviews. This initial stage of analysis – which I called data organising – provided a starting point from which I could analyse the knowledge I had

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<sup>74</sup> A1 13/10/14 and A3 07/10/14.

<sup>75</sup> A3 13/10/14.

produced with others in the course of my research and activism. This process was particularly transformative in relation to my action research archives. I began by gathering together the mass of documents spread over multiple formats to form three separate archives, which I labelled A1 (JSEP), A2 (Carpenters Community Plan group and Newham Network) and A3 (WCC and OTLE). I assigned simple identifiers to each item using the date it was created and listed each item in a spreadsheet with a brief description (Appendix 2, Part Ci), so that I could begin to find my way more easily through the range of material. For example, the many papers and notes I had worked with others to produce, for and from the first JSEP meeting on 9 July 2013, became, 'A1 09/07/13', an item in a spreadsheet.

At first, watching my lengthy and multi-faceted involvement and research with some of London's economic alliances become, simply, 'data' was a relief, as it gave me confidence that I would eventually be able to produce a thesis. As I completed this initial phase of data organising, however, I felt overwhelmed and uncertain about how to produce a single, coherent, credible and single-authored PhD thesis that would both meet academic requirements and reflect its origins in collective knowledge and action. I faced anew the full extent of what I had taken on, motivated by my attachment to the groups I was working with, my desire to make a success of my research and the inevitable difficulty in defining a clear boundary around my 'field work'<sup>76</sup>. I felt uncomfortable about turning collective knowledge and action into nuggets of information which I could use in my own thesis.<sup>77</sup> I became concerned that I would undo all my efforts to combine activism with research, stripping out the messy, mundane and everyday aspects of my work and the knowledge and work of others in order to create orderly, clean data for individual scholarly analysis.

In order to make progress, I focussed on the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network. I started by re-reading the contents of my action research archive, the extracts from my research diary relating to these groups and the transcripts of the action-oriented interviews I had conducted with Carpenters businesses. This process of analysis was conducted alongside and

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<sup>76</sup> RD 01/09/14 and 03/09/14.

<sup>77</sup> RD 03/09/14.



through early attempts at writing the text and eventually became Chapter 6 of this thesis. As in every research project to some extent, theory, method, analysis and writing were iteratively developed and entwined throughout the process of producing this thesis (Crang and Cook 2007, Madden 2010). In this case, the writing process was particularly important in developing all aspects of this PhD research, particularly in relation to form and structure. While analytical and writing processes are generally hidden within academic writing (Crang and Cook 2007), the writing process has been so fundamental to the production of my thesis that I describe it as part of my research method through the autoethnographic account provided in this section.

My early efforts at analysis produced descriptions of the groups, the context for their struggles, a chronology of the community planning process and the nature of my research and activism, material which I later used in the process of writing Sections 4.4 and 4.5 of this methodological chapter. These descriptive texts were extremely helpful in beginning to open up space between myself and the groups I had been working with. This was an uncomfortable and testing process, however, as I struggled to both develop my own voice and knowledge whilst acknowledging the diverse voices and knowledges that had made the thesis possible in the first place. If UCL's proposal for a new campus on the Carpenters Estate had threatened residents and businesses, I was determined not to repeat these same evictions and exclusions in my own analysis and writing. These tensions led me to focus increasingly on the process by which the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network had produced collective knowledge to challenge and develop alternatives to UCL's plans to develop a new campus on the Carpenters Estate and the LLDC's emerging draft plan. Using my action research archive and research diary, I was able to identify the meetings and events which had been particularly important in establishing common ground between businesses and residents, gathering together knowledge and developing propositions for more inclusive approaches to local economic development. This emphasis was guided by my emerging analysis and use of Gibson-Graham's economic politics of language, the subject and collective action, which eventually became Chapter 2 and Section 4.5 of this thesis. I also paid particular attention to the collective documents which had already been produced through this process, in

particular the Carpenters Community Plan (extract on local economy at Appendix 1, Part Bi) and the Newham Network's response to the consultation on the draft LLDC local plan (extract on economic issues at Appendix 1, Part Bii). I made connections between discussions in meetings and events, and the analysis and propositions that ended up in these documents, beginning to trace the process of producing collective knowledge for action. I wrote summary notes of key meetings, events and documents, so that I could more easily work with this condensed and organised electronic material, while gathering together the relevant original documents so that I could easily cross-refer to them when continuing with the analysis and writing. I also identified and explored some of the key themes which emerged from the interviews with Carpenters' businesses, for example, previous experiences of regeneration or development. I highlighted relevant information under each theme and then wrote summary notes for each one, including page numbers for original quotations so as not to lose important details in successive phases of analysis and writing.

As themes emerged from my early analysis, I used these themes to label the sections and sub-sections of what eventually became Chapter 6. Working within one section at a time, I brought together my emerging analysis of key meetings, events, collective documents and interview transcripts. My aim was to analyse the interview material and documents in relation to the community planning process in which they were embedded. I included long extracts from collective documents and recorded group discussions in the text itself, as well as lengthy analyses of subsequent stages in the community planning process. I ended up with a draft chapter which was 22,000 words long, extended through the effort of analysing not only new knowledge but the collective and action-oriented processes that produced it. While there remained much to do to edit and improve this text, I moved on immediately to analyse and write about the material I had produced in the course of my research and activism with JSEP (which became Chapter 5) and WCC and OTLE (which became Chapter 7). This time, I made quicker and easier progress, as I applied the approach to analysis and writing which had taken so long to emerge through my struggles with Chapter 6. While it is therefore not necessary to explain the analytical process in full, it is important to mention the key, collectively produced documents to which I gave particular attention in these cases, including JSEP's

response to the FALP and OTLE's contribution to the OT response to the consultation on the second draft Tottenham AAP (extracts at A1, Parts Ci and Ci). Having produced very long first drafts of Chapters 5 to 7, I produced a rough first draft of my 'theoretical' chapter (Chapter 2), before turning my attention to the policy analysis and interviews which I had conducted to mirror and supplement my collaborative action research.

Subsequent drafts provided more precise and targeted analysis, benefiting from the development of my theoretical and methodological chapters in response to the new knowledge and insights I gained through early efforts to analyse and write about my research and activism. I then wrote back in some of the polyvocality that had characterised my earlier drafts, inserting photographs, extracts, direct quotations and subsequent comments from collaborators in order to acknowledge and legitimise their knowledge and contribution within the confines of a sole-authored academic thesis (Crang and Cook 2007). My involvement in ongoing contested planning and development processes continued to inform my analysis, in particular in the case of WCC where I was actively involved in some way until February 2016. While I originally wrote these subsequent developments into successive versions of Chapters 5 to 7, this material appears in condensed form in Appendix 3. I reflect on the impact of this longer-term involvement and connections on this thesis in Chapter 8.

When I had a draft I felt comfortable with, I shared the relevant material with each group, seeking specific feedback or clarification where necessary, as well as providing an opportunity for more general comments. Parts of this thesis were read and commented on by two members of JSEP, the two LTF and Just Space coordinators of the Newham Network and Carpenters Community Plan group, two OT participants and four members of WCC/the Trust/Latin Corner UK. The feedback I received was limited but positive. While I had hoped more people would read the text, I appreciated the many other demands on their time. The exchanges I did have, however, were productive in opening up a dialogue about what further aspects of the thesis could be usefully shared with collaborating groups, perhaps through a presentation or short summary, and the possibilities for further collaborative action research. Perhaps most importantly, however, preparing draft chapters to share with my various collaborators helped

me to identify and explore groups' successes and achievements in what were extremely constrained and challenging circumstances, ensuring my critical analysis remained oriented towards the possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development.

My analysis of policy documents and interview transcripts was guided both by my wish to reveal and explore the contestations and alternatives taking place *within* as well as in opposition to the institutions and interests which had produced them, as discussed in Section 4.2. I chose to focus on four themes which spoke to the academic literature I was working with (which became Chapter 2), the insights emerging from early drafts of Chapters 5 to 7 and of course the interviews themselves. I highlighted relevant interview material on 1) the institutions and business interests involved in planning, economic development and regeneration policy; 2) the ideas about London's economy underpinning strategic and local plans; 3) opportunities for more inclusive approaches to urban economic development; and 4) London's escalating workspace crisis. The wealth and breadth of material I had collected meant that many other issues could have been explored but my previous analysis gave me confidence in my ability to select those issues which related most closely to the aims of my thesis (Madden 2010). I brought analysis of policy documents and interview material together across the metropolitan scale and the two localities, bringing into view the specific articulations of London's global city growth model in the LLDC area and Tottenham, in particular the additional openings for inclusive development created by Olympic Legacy goals and the riots of summer 2011 and the additional pressure on workspace due to the strategic growth ambitions for these areas. This strategic connecting work was very productive in opening up a view of my thesis as a whole, connecting my policy analysis and interviews to my research and activism with some of London's emerging economic alliances. As with Chapters 5 to 7, I analysed my data iteratively in the process of writing, engaging with material under each theme as I refined the chapter structure and worked my way through it. The result was an extremely long chapter with too much to handle within one draft. I therefore separated out the material mirroring Chapters 5 to 7, resulting in one policy analysis chapter focusing on the metropolitan scale (Chapter 2, a pair for Chapter 5), and integrated the material on LLDC and Tottenham into

subsequent drafts of Chapters 6 and 7. This separation was necessary, but constrained my policy analysis in Chapters 6 and 7 to supplementing and developing the stories of contestation and alternatives I was already telling. I intend to return to further analysis of the policy documents and interview material in relation to these two areas in future, outside of the confines of this PhD thesis.

I did not undertake the first draft of this methodology chapter until some months later, having taken a break following the birth of my daughter in February 2016. While I had originally intended to adapt the traditional thesis outline by incorporating methodological discussions within Chapters 5 to 7, the volume and nature of the material made this impractical. To avoid repetition and in order to do justice to my methodological contribution, I therefore began writing a method chapter, bringing together material from my other drafts and adding discussion of academic methods literature. This proved to be a productive and creative process through which I was able to articulate the innovative methodological contribution of this thesis in Section 4.5. Initially, of course, this methodological chapter re-opened guilt and anxiety about the relationship between my activism and research, some of which remains. It also, however, helped me to process these feelings about my withdrawal from activism to recognise the broader context for my work. As Nagar and Geiger so powerfully put it, 'Rather than privileging a reflexivity that emphasizes [a] researcher's identity, we must discuss more explicitly the contextual economic, political and institutional processes and structures that shape the form and effects of fieldwork' (p270). Chapters 5 to 7 reveal the achievements of London's emerging economic alliances in the face of multiple and intensifying threats and very minimal resources, as well as their fragile and sometimes conflicted nature. In this context, my organising and facilitating work made a significant contribution to the abilities of groups to represent themselves and their interests in planning debates. Recognising this fact enabled me to place myself more confidently as participant in and contributor to the collective knowledge production process I was thinking and writing about from the university.

## **5 “Building on the economy we have”: mobilising London’s diverse economy for more inclusive economic development**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I explore how the Just Space Economy and Planning group (JSEP) mobilised diverse economic actors and built shared knowledge of London’s diverse economy in order to challenge the Further Alterations to the London Plan (FALP) and develop propositions for an alternative approach to planning based on ‘the economy we have’. Chapter 3 traced JSEP’s roots to the difficulties experienced by the Just Space London-wide network in challenging the global city growth model underpinning the London Plan through formal consultation and the Examination in Public (EiP) process during 2010. After holding several workshops, small group discussions and a large public event in order to proactively develop its engagement with economic issues, Just Space launched a spin-off Economy and Planning group in July 2013. As described in Chapter 4, I provided organisational support for JSEP’s activities until October 2014, collecting data that would later enable me to analyse this process of collective knowledge production and action. While JSEP remains active at the time of writing (Appendix 3), this chapter focuses on its first 15 months from July 2013 to October 2014.

In early meetings, the group affirmed its central purpose to mobilise and support a wider range of business and community groups to participate in strategic planning debates on economic issues.<sup>78</sup> This focus was upheld even though many JSEP participants felt that their efforts were unlikely to have any impact either on the London Plan itself or on future development given the poor implementation of the Plan’s policies.<sup>79</sup> For some participants, it was essential to ‘challeng[e] the economic assumptions that underpin the Plan, regardless of impact, in order to demonstrate that London First and the City of London do not represent the only interests in London’s economy’ (JSEP 2013a np). Some participants were focussed on growing a network which could develop alternative approaches to economy and planning in London, not on whether any

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<sup>78</sup> A1 22/07/13, 12/08/13 and 28/11/13; TR JSEP 25/09/13 and 22/10/13; see also JSEP 2013a.

<sup>79</sup> A1 28/11/13; see also JSEP 2013a.

particular tactic was successful in the short-term. The group therefore decided to organise a seminar series, community conference and a public event *and* to participate in the London Plan consultation and EiP. JSEP's central emphasis on the formal participatory spaces of the London Plan substantially shaped and influenced its activities in all of these arenas.

Section 5.2 describes how I worked with other JSEP participants to mobilise economic actors usually absent in strategic planning debates into a London-wide broad alliance. Through regular discussions, JSEP participants iteratively built a shared sense of their aims and concerns, finding reassurance and support in their common cause and experience while also remaining open to different views and values. In sharing their knowledge about London's diverse economy with others, JSEP participants generated confidence, optimism and ideas about alternative, more inclusive approaches to economic development in London. In Section 5.3, I gather together some of the knowledge about London's economy which JSEP participants shared and developed, both through presentations and discussions at JSEP seminars and events and in the process of engaging with the London Plan. These alternative narratives attempted to represent the role and contribution of diverse economic activities ignored, marginalised or threatened with displacement by plans and development proposals in several cases.

Crucially, because these alternative narratives were built and shared by JSEP participants, they were able to use them to challenge the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson's, proposed Further Alterations to the London Plan (FALP), the focus of discussion in Section 5.4. JSEP became particularly concerned about the implications of two aspects of the FALP, namely proposals which encouraged the release of well-located 'surplus' industrial and retail space for housing. While the group's efforts to challenge these proposals met with little success, they were nonetheless productive and generative, mobilising a wider range of small business and community groups to share their knowledge about the role and contribution of threatened diverse economic activities across London's high streets, town centres and industrial areas. Participating in the FALP EiP built ideas, resources and capacity for collective

knowledge and action in other arenas, starting with a public event aimed at opening up debate on London's economy in July 2014 (Section 5.5).

## **5.2 Mobilising a London-wide alliance of diverse economic actors**

While Just Space was experienced in building relationships with community groups, the network had not previously attempted to build relationships with business groups. Early JSEP discussions were mainly focussed on gathering together participants' ideas about groups to contact and developing a list of issues to focus on.<sup>80</sup> These discussions began to engage a wider range of people beyond the six Just Space members closely involved in forming JSEP, expanding the realm of knowledge, experience and relationships available to draw on. After each meeting or discussion, I contacted the relevant groups and followed up on ideas for future discussions.<sup>81</sup>

JSEP invited community groups, business groups and researchers to present at seminars and events in order to share their knowledge and experience. Presentations, meeting notes and other materials were circulated on an email list and uploaded onto the Just Space website, building up a set of shared resources. The aim was not only to hear and learn from the experiences and knowledge of new participants but also to explore how they might take part in the group's work and ultimately in strategic planning debates. JSEP was not to become a 'talking shop' for 'academic navel gazing', as Robin Brown put it.<sup>82</sup> It was important to link presentations and discussions to JSEP's activities, to ensure new knowledge and relationships were embedded in the group and would lead to further initiatives and connections.<sup>83</sup> Several groups, for example Peckham Vision and East End Trades Guild (EETG), became regular participants after having been invited to present at a seminar, going on to participate in the FALP EiP, to speak at public events, contribute to the JSEP handbook and organise new initiatives.<sup>84</sup> Wherever possible, I worked with others to organise meetings and events, building stronger relationships

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<sup>80</sup> TR JSEP 07/07/13, 25/09/13 and 22/10/13; A1 22/07/13, 12/08/13; RD 12/08/13.

<sup>81</sup> A1 22/07/13, 12/08/13, 07/02/14, 05/06/14, 11/06/14 and 18/07/14.

<sup>82</sup> A1 08/05/13, 05/12/13 and 09/12/13; RD 08/05/13, 25/09/13, 05/12/13, 12/12/13 and 27/01/14.

<sup>83</sup> A1 25/09/13, 12/12/13, 17/12/13 and 27/01/14.

<sup>84</sup> TR JSEP 05/12/13 and 14/07/14.



amongst the group in the process as well as sharing organising work and building capacity to sustain the group's activities in the long-term. Meetings and events were held at locations used by JSEP participants and refreshments sourced from social enterprises and small businesses connected with the group wherever possible. After meetings, discussions often continued in a nearby pub. Through these activities, participants built the relationships and resources through which it became possible to talk of JSEP as a London-wide alliance.

From the start, JSEP was open to a wide range of different groups and individuals. In early discussions, several participants argued that it should be possible to establish alliances with a wide range of business groups, given the extent of the problem of weak representation of business groups in planning in London.<sup>85</sup> George Turner (involved in several campaigns in Vauxhall and Lambeth) had reviewed the list of respondents to the Mayor of London's draft Supplementary Planning Guidance (SPG) on industrial land (GLA 2012), finding only five responses from businesses and representative organisations amidst many more responses from developers.<sup>86</sup> Meetings with the Federation of Small Businesses (FSB) and Bootstrap Co. (a provider of low-cost workspace to social enterprises in Dalston, east London) confirmed JSEP's view that small businesses and social enterprises were not currently involved in planning at metropolitan or local level.<sup>87</sup> Just Space's experience at the 2010 London Plan EiP, where they had often been in agreement with the FSB,<sup>88</sup> gave JSEP further confidence that they could find common cause with many other business groups. For some JSEP participants, this confidence extended even to those business groups which dominated strategic planning debates at the time, most influentially London First.<sup>89</sup> The desire of participants to have a broad appeal - and influence 'the mainstream' - lay behind their eventual choice of a neutral name, rather than framing themselves as 'alternative', although they also recognised this might put off some activists.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> TR JSEP 25/09/13.

<sup>86</sup> A3 25/09/13; TR JSEP 25/09/13.

<sup>87</sup> TR JSEP 05/12/13 and 27/01/14.

<sup>88</sup> TR JSEP 07/07/13.

<sup>89</sup> A1 22/10/13 and 10/07/14.

<sup>90</sup> A1 28/05/13.

Over 40 individuals had participated in JSEP's activities by March 2014 and over 50 participated in its public event in July 2014.<sup>91</sup> Particularly strong links were built with community and business groups campaigning to defend diverse economic activities from displacement in high streets, town centres and industrial areas, including Peckham Vision, EETG, Camley Street Neighbourhood Forum and Latin Elephant.<sup>92</sup> JSEP also had some success in drawing in strategic organisations and influential individuals, most significantly Sue Terpilowski, the London Policy Chairperson for the FSB, the New Economics Foundation, successive chairs of the London Assembly Economy Committee, Jenny Jones (Green Party) and Fiona Twycross (Labour Party), on one occasion a representative of the South Eastern Region of the Trades Union Congress and several academics whose analyses of London's affordable workspace (Ferm 2014a, 2014b and 2016), industrial areas (Ferm and Jones 2015 and 2016), high streets and town centres (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, Hall 2011, 2015a and 2015b, Vaughan *et al* 2009 and 2013) and overall economic development (Gordon 2011, Perrons 2012) were relevant to JSEP's aims and concerns.<sup>93</sup> Within JSEP's first 15 months, however, it did not prove possible to involve all of the groups originally identified.<sup>94</sup>

JSEP was able to define and progress a shared agenda which accommodated different views within a broad alliance. Early discussions were instrumental in provoking and exploring key questions about the group's aims and approach, through which participants were gradually able to build a sense of shared purpose and common concern.<sup>95</sup> I worked with others to produce a 'Statement of Intent' which provided a list of JSEP's initial priorities and a 'Forward Programme' of its activities, including involvement of diverse economic actors in planning, alternative growth strategies, the loss of industrial land, affordable workspace, ethnic and migrant economies, high streets and gender

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<sup>91</sup> A3 10/04/14 and 15/07/14

<sup>92</sup> A1 22/07/13, 12/08/13, 22/10/13. For a concise introduction to these groups, turn to the case studies within JSEP's (2015a) handbook for community and small business groups fighting to defend workspace for London's diverse economies (JSEP 2015a; see insert).

<sup>93</sup> A1 29/05/14, 09/06/14, 20/06/14 and 08/08/14; TR JSEP 20/06/14 and 14/07/14.

<sup>94</sup> A1 12/08/13; TR JSEP 09/07/13 and 25/09/13. For example, links remain to be explored with local branches of trades unions, the FSB and the London Chamber of Commerce, Business Improvement Districts and high-profile firms whose presence in London challenges dominant narratives, for example, Brompton Bicycles (made in London since 1975) and Costa Coffee (roasted in London for over 40 years).

<sup>95</sup> TR JSEP 07/07/13, 25/09/13 and 05/12/13; A1 07/07/13 and 12/08/13.

(JSEP 2013a and 2013b). Not all participants were interested in or agreed with all issues, nor were they required to do so in order to join the group's activities. These documents were designed to be regularly reviewed and updated, to evolve as the group grew and its interests and activities changed and developed. Notes of meetings recorded the diversity of views expressed and attempted to represent key points of debate. Major JSEP documents were produced through collective discussion at meetings, subsequent dialogue via email lists and the iterative refinement of documents. Key decisions acknowledged and made space for different opinions, gathering together and representing different experiences and interests.

Gradually, JSEP built relationships and resources that participants could use in multiple ways. Patria Roman-Velazquez (Latin Elephant) and Eileen Conn (Peckham Vision) made useful contacts at meetings and events, which built their confidence in taking on economic issues in strategic planning.<sup>96</sup> Community and business groups were able to learn from and apply each other's knowledge and experience in their own struggles. For instance, the organiser and several traders from the People's Empowerment Alliance for Custom House (PEACH) came to JSEP seeking advice in negotiating a traders' charter for a major regeneration scheme; participants were able to connect them with groups facing similar threats in Elephant and Castle and in Newham.<sup>97</sup> The JSEP email list was used to share information about new research and reports and news from individual campaigns. This London-wide networking was one of JSEP's major achievements during its first 15 months, enabling specific groups and individuals to learn from and support each other and, importantly, to place their experience and knowledge in relation to the shared, strategic narratives about London's diverse economy which JSEP iteratively built.

### **5.3 Building shared knowledge about London's diverse economy**

As new groups and individuals began to participate in JSEP's meetings and events, they brought with them their experience and knowledge about London's diverse economy. Several community and small business groups had begun to

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<sup>96</sup> TR JSEP 20/06/14, 14/07/14 and 13/10/14.

<sup>97</sup> TR JSEP 27/01/13; A1 04/02/14, 11/02/14, 13/02/14 and 03/03/14.

collect information about threatened economic activities in their area as part of their campaigns, including:

- A mapping exercise of Charlton Riverside revealed around 140 firms operating from 11 industrial estates (Just Space and UCL 2013), providing Thames Gateway Forum and Creekside Forum with powerful evidence to challenge Greenwich Council's housing-led plans. Roy Tindle (Thames Gateway Forum) highlighted activities taking place at Charlton Riverside which were related to more visible and celebrated sectors of the economy – most notably, lift repairers and part providers serving central London offices, but also engineering firms supplying Formula One, British Aerospace and Rolls Royce; aggregates wharves and suppliers which feed the construction industry; food suppliers which support London's restaurants and hotels; as well as general service and support functions which enable a wide range of London's business activities.<sup>98</sup>
- Presenting at the 2<sup>nd</sup> JSEP seminar, Eileen Conn explained how Peckham Vision had worked with independent traders to set up the Rye Lane Traders Association and described their work to identify and bring together Peckham's 'parallel economies' of independent trade, mainstream business, culture, heritage, religion and community.<sup>99</sup> Peckham Vision was embroiled in fighting the redevelopment of railway arches owned by Network Rail, occupied by around 60 small businesses, workshops, restaurants and creative enterprises. These experiences prompted Peckham Vision to question why local plans and development proposals failed to recognise the value of these existing activities and their potential, which somehow remained 'under the radar', as Eileen Conn put it.<sup>100</sup>
- At the next seminar, Elena Besussi, local economy representative for the Camley Street Neighbourhood Forum and UCL academic, presented estimates that the 17-20 companies located in a 2 hectare industrial

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<sup>98</sup> A3 23/03/13; TR JSEP 22/10/13.

<sup>99</sup> A3 25/09/13; Peckham Vision 2013

<sup>100</sup> TR JSEP 27/01/14.

estate in Kings Cross threatened by encroaching housing development, generated a turnover of £30 million and employed over 500 people across many different sectors, including food processing and distribution, car mechanics, taxi driving, fashion and creative firms, amongst others.<sup>101</sup> As the group worked towards forming a community land trust for the area, it used this information to represent the local economy in positive terms (Camley Street Neighbourhood Forum 2015).

- EETG, an organisation representing 200 small independent businesses in the East End concerned about rent increases, used a simple survey of members to generate 'data on their importance to the London economy, including employing 1200 people, of which 1114 live in London; having a turnover of £77 million; paying £1.3 million in business rates, £5 million in VAT, £2.3 million in National Insurance contributions every year and serving 520,000 people per month' (JSEP 2014a p22, using data from EETG 2013).
- Other narratives about the economic value of threatened diverse economic activity were provided by individual firms (e.g. Truman's Beer, which faced having to move out of London altogether when their lease at Hackney Wick ended), social enterprises (e.g. Bootstrap Co., a provider of low-cost workspace in Dalston) and other organisations (e.g. Bromley by Bow Centre, which funds and supports social enterprises in the most deprived parts of east London, amongst many other initiatives).<sup>102</sup> The director of Waterloo Community Development Group (WCDG), Michael Ball, also became a regular JSEP participant, sharing the group's 40+ years' experience as a community planning group in dealing with different business fora and interests and in challenging the displacement of office and retail workspaces seen as 'lower value' from central London.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> TR JSEP 05/12/13; JSEP 2015b.

<sup>102</sup> TR JSEP 25/09/13, 27/01/14 and 08/07/14; see also JSEP 2014c.

<sup>103</sup> TR JSEP 25/09/13 and 05/12/13.

Updated November 2014



Research: Patria Roman Velazquez  
Map: Ilinca Diaconescu

#### Key

- Cafe/Restaurant
- Clothes/accessories
- Travel agency
- Food shop
- Games/entertainment
- Dentist
- Film/Music
- Money transfer/Courier
- Hair and beauty
- Auto repairs
- Estate agency
- Computer/Print shop
- Retail
- Translations/Legal

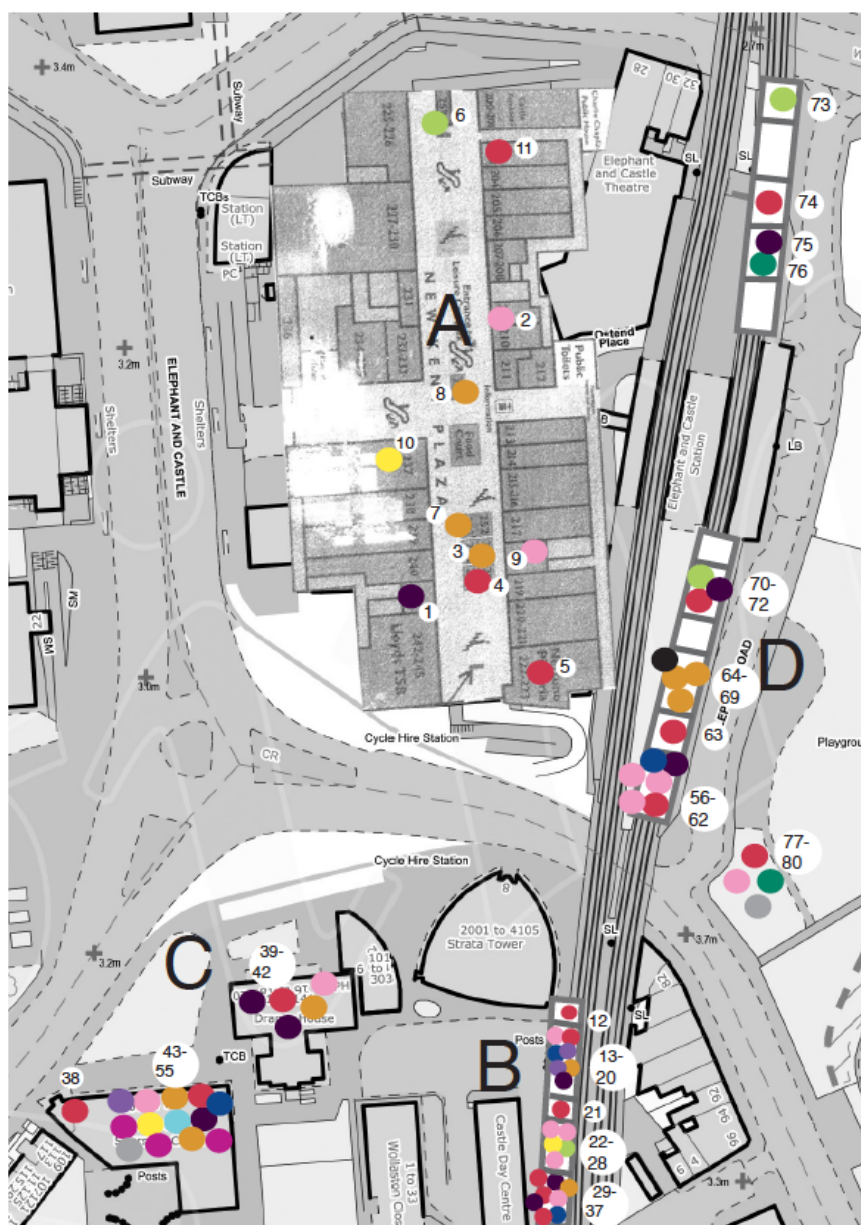


Figure 5.1 Mapping Latin American businesses at the Elephant and Castle, south east London. Source: Latin Elephant, with permission.

These narratives echoed those of other longer-standing Just Space member groups who had begun to document the economic and social value of ethnically diverse markets and shopping areas in Elephant and Castle, Tottenham and Newham. Patria Roman-Velazquez (Latin Elephant) had mapped Latin American businesses with the help of UCL student/Just Space volunteer, Ilinca Diaconescu (Figure 5.1). She had also begun to document some of these alternative values through interviews with market traders at Wards Corner/Pueblito Paisa, highlighting the market as a space of psychological and emotional support, female entrepreneurship and belonging

and identity.<sup>104</sup> Wards Corner Community Coalition (WCC) had focussed on challenging the profit-oriented assessments and plans for Wards Corner by emphasising its social value and developing an alternative community plan based upon a model of sustainable growth of existing businesses and the integration of social and economic services and functions.<sup>105</sup> Friends of Queens Market (FoQM) had commissioned the New Economics Foundation (2006) to produce a report which had documented and measured the social and economic value of Queens Market in Newham in various ways, including providing twice the jobs per square metre than a supermarket.

Through further discussions, JSEP participants also began to make the case for retaining industry in London in social and environmental terms, highlighting its role in providing decent jobs for local people and contributing to a more sustainable economy. Jack Hibberd from Truman's Beer in Hackney Wick highlighted the accessible, high-quality jobs and training they were able to provide, an alternative to jobs in 'finance, support services, cleaning, catering, whatever'.<sup>106</sup> Michael Ball (WCDG) highlighted the example of a fish supplier in Lambeth which mainly employed local people because of their operating hours.<sup>107</sup> A representative of Wood Works Wonders, a social enterprise focusing on wood waste collection, recycling and training in Tottenham, explained that, in their experience, the lack of affordable, suitable sites was preventing a green economy developing in London. Using these and other examples, JSEP participants argued that this reservoir of industrial land played an important role in a high cost city like London in providing relatively low-cost and flexible workspace that could support more inclusive and sustainable growth pathways.<sup>108</sup>

JSEP challenged the idea of deindustrialisation as a 'natural' process by highlighting the role of planning authorities and developers in driving out industry from the city. Hayes Community Forum, Thames Gateway Forum and Camley Street Neighbourhood Forum highlighted increasing conflicts and tensions between housing and industry, as, for example, new housing

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<sup>104</sup> A1 23/03/13.

<sup>105</sup> A1 23/03/13.

<sup>106</sup> TR JSEP 14/07/14.

<sup>107</sup> TR JSEP 15/03/14.

<sup>108</sup> TR JSEP 15/03/14 and 14/07/14

development led to complaints from residents about noise from nearby industrial areas or as planning permission for a first housing development in a formerly-protected industrial area encouraged others.<sup>109</sup> JSEP participants challenged the idea that businesses displaced from industrial land could simply find other locations by highlighting both local interconnections between different firms and the lack of alternative sites.<sup>110</sup> They attempted to demonstrate that the tools of the planning system available to protect industrial land were not being used or were being bypassed.<sup>111</sup> Roy Tindle described how owners of industrial estates (including local authorities) stopped renewing leases, leading to vacant premises and physical decline, creating the impression of a lack of demand for the space in order to facilitate housing development (see also Ferm and Jones 2015).<sup>112</sup>

By bringing together community and business groups across London, JSEP provided a space in which specific cases could be seen in relation to one another. In this way, JSEP was able to build up a strategic narrative about the threat to diverse economic activities in industrial areas, high streets and town centres across London. In order to gather together and strengthen evidence from individual groups and local areas, JSEP invited academics and ‘third sector’ organisations (e.g. the New Economics Foundation) to participate in the group’s activities in order to share research and reports which might add to the experience and knowledge of community and business groups as well as to build ‘a culture of collaboration’ between different groups, one of JSEP’s most significant achievements during its first 15 months.<sup>113</sup> For example, UCL researchers and JSEP participants Jessica Ferm and Ed Jones took up the group’s concerns about industrial land in a literature review they conducted, with seed funding from UCL, in collaboration with JSEP, concluding that there was evidence to suggest that ‘the loss of manufacturing in London in recent years has primarily been due to real estate speculation rather than deindustrialisation’ (2015a p19). Rather than seeing academics as the experts in London’s economy or the spokespeople for community groups, however, JSEP aimed to knit together different forms of evidence and knowledge,

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<sup>109</sup> TR JSEP 25/09/13 and 05/12/13.

<sup>110</sup> TR JSEP 14/07/14.

<sup>111</sup> TR JSEP 25/09/13, 22/10/13 and 27/01/13.

<sup>112</sup> TR JSEP 25/09/13 and 15/03/14.

<sup>113</sup> A1 08/05/13; RD 09/05/13, 25/05/13; TR JSEP 07/07/13



building resources and capacity effectively to engage in strategic planning and development debates.<sup>114</sup>

Crucially, because this strategic narrative was built and shared by JSEP participants, the group was able to use it to advance the prospects for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development in London, both within and beyond the formal London Plan consultation and EiP process. The GLA Act 1999 states that the London Plan should ‘deal only with matters which are of strategic importance to Greater London’, although no specific guidance or definition is given as to what this means in practice, other than ‘it is immaterial whether or not the matter affects the whole area of Greater London’ (GLA Act 1999, clause 334.5-6). This requirement to deal only with strategic matters further pushed JSEP participants to articulate a *strategic* narrative about the role and contribution of economic diversity to London’s economy and, therefore, the need for metropolitan planning policy to recognise and respond to the threat posed to this diversity by an escalating workspace crisis.

#### **5.4 Challenging the FALP**

The Mayor of London’s proposed Further Alterations to the London Plan motivated JSEP significantly to expand its efforts to mobilise a London-wide alliance of diverse economic actors. The main aim of the FALP was to increase delivery of housing in the light of new Census data which revealed that London’s population seemed to be growing much faster than the 2011 London Plan projections had predicted (Mayor of London 2014a). While London’s forecast housing need had increased, however, its identified capacity to deliver new housing had not. This left the Mayor of London with a significant gap between identified need and forecast delivery and a potential risk that the London Plan be found unsound in relation to the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) requirement for plans to ‘meet their full need for market and affordable housing’ (GLA 2013 para 2.21). The FALP attempted to bridge this gap by setting minimum housing supply targets for boroughs in line with identified capacity but encouraging boroughs to ‘seek to exceed these targets

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<sup>114</sup> A1 23/03/13; TR JSEP 07/07/13

through focused development in Town Centres, Opportunity and Intensification Areas, other large sites and surplus industrial land near transport nodes' (GLA 2013 para 2.24). Changes were made to boost housing delivery further by encouraging higher density development 'in appropriate locations - including town centres - going up to, or in exceptional justified circumstances exceed[ing], density thresholds' (GLA 2013 para 2.26). The proposed changes to the London Plan's town centre policies were framed as 'win-win', as it was claimed that, '[w]ith sensitive, integrated planning, addressing the pressing need for additional housing... can also help to tackle the retail related issues facing town centres' (Mayor of London 2014a p68).

Richard Lee and Michael Edwards provided an introduction to the FALP at JSEP's fourth seminar on 27 January 2014. This introduction prompted a brief discussion of affordable workspace and industrial activities but little interest in responding to the consultation. At the end of the discussion, Richard reminded the group that the weak engagement on economic issues in the London Plan was the reason JSEP existed in the first place and urged participants to mobilise the experience and knowledge they were building: 'we've got the evidence between us, actually, we're showing we've got a huge amount of knowledge and data, but... it's not getting through in the way the evidence on housing and regeneration is getting through.... So just an appeal, please think seriously about making a written comment on the London Plan on the economy side. And if you need help in doing that, there's a number of us here who would be very keen to help you'.<sup>115</sup> In response to Richard Lee's intervention, I proposed making space in the JSEP programme to prioritise the FALP for a few months to support and encourage the groups and individuals that JSEP was beginning to engage with to respond to the consultation.<sup>116</sup>

The FALP dominated my work with JSEP until the consultation deadline on 10 April 2014, and again prior to the EiP in September. This work involved organising meetings to help participants make sense of the FALP and develop consultation responses (extract at Appendix 1, Part Ai), prepare written statements in response to the issues (known as 'matters') selected by the

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<sup>115</sup> TR JSEP 27/01/14.

<sup>116</sup> RD 13/02/14.



*Figure 5.2 JSEP meet to discuss the economic aspects of the proposed Further Alterations to the London Plan at UCL on 20 March 2014. Source: the author.*

Inspector for discussion at the EiP and prepare for the EiP itself. Meetings and discussions (Figure 5.2) were useful in addressing gaps in understanding, developing responses to the Inspector's questions, allaying fears and anxieties and building a sense of solidarity and support that participants could draw on during the EiP itself.<sup>117</sup> Working closely with others, I gathered together the views and evidence of JSEP participants into collective responses and worked with individual participants to support them in making their own responses. JSEP's work also fed directly into the Just Space network's broader engagement across the whole breadth of the FALP. JSEP built on and adapted Just Space's practice of developing responses through group discussions by using shared documents and file stores to enable many people to contribute evidence and examples at once.<sup>118</sup>

JSEP quickly became concerned that the FALP amounted to a new attempt to 'accommodate significant transformational growth and development'

<sup>117</sup> TR JSEP 05/09/14; RD 20/08/14, 10/09/14 and 11/09/14; A1 10/09/14.

<sup>118</sup> A1 11/03/14; RD 17/03/14

(JSEP 2014a p4). By introducing new flexibilities to convert well-located surplus industrial land and retail space in town centres, the FALP risked stripping out an important stock of lower-cost workspace which, JSEP said in its consultation response, 'is currently providing services and goods which high-GVA sectors rely upon, space for new enterprises and activities to develop and (often local) jobs for Londoners' (p4; see Appendix 1, Part Ai). A central problem, JSEP argued, was the FALP paid 'little attention to the existing diverse economic sectors and activities that make up the London economy. There is much less focus on how to retain, support and nurture London's existing economic spaces and activities than to attract and deliver new ones' (p3). In threatening diverse economic activities throughout London, JSEP felt the FALP presented a risk to the prospects for more inclusive and sustainable economic development, by removing local jobs which reduced the need to travel and made employment (more) accessible for people on lower-incomes and with caring responsibilities. The group therefore decided to object to the FALP as a whole, and proposed 'a full, transparent and participatory review of the economic evidence base and economic development strategy for London' (JSEP 2014a p6). This argument meant it became even more important to mobilise diverse economic actors to represent themselves in the consultation and in order to make visible the aspects of London's economy that were being missed.<sup>119</sup>

Although the whole London Plan was not up for debate, this being 'further alterations' rather than a 'full review', JSEP attempted to make the most of the opportunity of the EiP to open up debate on London's economy. Here, JSEP benefited from Just Space's practical experience in ensuring comments were 'hung' on the 'hooks' of the proposed amendments, written in blue text in the draft Plan (Figure 5.3), in order to remain within the scope of the Planning Inspector's considerations.<sup>120</sup> Robin Brown was particularly expert in identifying how JSEP could raise issues that would otherwise be outside the frame of debate by strategically reframing them to speak to the specific issues the Inspector was required to test in order to establish the 'soundness' of the plan, namely whether it was 'positively prepared, justified, effective and consistent

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<sup>119</sup> A1 05/03/14, 08/04/14, 20/06/14, 09/09/14 and 11/09/14

<sup>120</sup> A1 04/03/14.

with national policy (DCLG 2012 p43).<sup>121</sup> For example, he sought to open up debate about the FALP's risk to economic diversity by inserting new text into JSEP's response to argue that the plan was unsound because the Mayor and the GLA had failed to consider holistically the economic, social and environmental aspects of sustainable development, as they were required to do by the NPPF. Re-working and repositioning JSEP's broader concerns about London's global city growth model in this way was creative and technical work, requiring knowledge and experience. However, it also felt extremely demanding and convoluted, especially in the light of the group's scepticism about what could be gained through the EiP.

<p>Boroughs should: ...  <b>proactively</b> manage <del>declining centres</del>  <b>proactively</b> the changing roles of  centres, especially those with  surplus retail and office  <b>floorspace</b>, considering the scope for  consolidating and strengthening <b>them</b>  <del>centres identified as being in decline</del>  by <b>encouraging seeking to focus</b> a  wider range of services; promoting  diversification, <b>particularly through</b>  <b>high density, residential led, mixed</b>  <b>use re-development; and</b> improving  environmental quality; <b>facilitating</b>  <b>site assembly, including through</b>  <b>the Compulsory Purchase process...</b></p>	<p>Redevelopment of surplus industrial land  should address strategic and local  objectives particularly for housing, and  for social infrastructure such as  education, emergency services and  community activities. <b>Release of</b>  <b>surplus industrial land should, as far</b>  <b>as possible, be focused around public</b>  <b>transport nodes to enable higher</b>  <b>density redevelopment, especially for</b>  <b>housing.</b> In locations <b>within or</b> on the  edges of town centres, surplus industrial  land could be released to support wider  town centre objectives <b>(see Policy 2.15)</b>  <del>subject to other policies in the Plan.</del></p>
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Figure 5.3 The Mayor of London's proposed alterations to the London Plan's Town Centres Policy 2.15 (paragraph Dc) (left hand side) and supporting text to Policy 4.4 (Managing Industrial Land and Premises), paragraph 4.23 (right hand side), aimed at encouraging the release of 'surplus' retail and industrial land for high density housing development. The proposed alterations are in blue text, with deletions to existing text struck through. Source: Greater London Authority, with permission (adapted by author).

The Planning Inspector proposed only very specific and limited matters for debate, however, ignoring the strategic concerns raised by JSEP and others in their consultation responses (Thickett 2014a).<sup>122</sup> Just Space and JSEP's further attempt to open up debate by proposing an additional matter on sustainable development, amongst other additional questions, was also later rejected by the Inspector (Thickett 2014b), leaving JSEP little opportunity to advance its concerns about the FALP's risk to diverse economic activities and

<sup>121</sup> A1 20/03/14 and 23/03/14.

<sup>122</sup> A1 04/07/14 and 08/07/14; TR JSEP 06/08/14.

hence the prospects for sustainable and inclusive economic development in London.<sup>123</sup> The Inspector's obligation to test whether the Plan was 'justified' – meaning, whether it was 'the most appropriate strategy, when considered against the reasonable alternatives, based on proportionate evidence' (DCLG 2012 p43) – as well as stipulations within the NPPF regarding the required evidence base for 'business', meant that questions on the evidence base for the FALP within the EiP were unavoidable. JSEP therefore increasingly focussed on these specific, complex and technical economic models and analyses as a route to progressing its strategic concerns about the FALP's risk to economic diversity. The legal requirements of the EiP process therefore had a significant influence on JSEP's efforts to contest the FALP, which in turn strongly shaped its activities over its first 15 months.

#### 5.4.1 Bringing a strategic focus on London's diverse economy

6a. At paragraph 1.24 the FALP predicts that the number of jobs could increase from 4.9m in 2011 to 5.8m in 2036. Is this forecast justified and does the FALP create the right conditions to facilitate this growth?

6b. Do the changes proposed demonstrate, as required by the NPPF, a clear understanding of business needs within the economic markets operating in and across London?

*Box 5.1 The Planning Inspector's questions on the employment projections and understanding of business needs underpinning the FALP, for debate at the EiP. Source: Thickett (2014b p8).*

The requirement to test the evidence base meant that the Inspector included a question on the GLA's new employment projections within the Matters for debate (Box 5.1). These employment projections had been updated to sit alongside the new population projections which had motivated the FALP in the first place. GLA planners were confident that long-term economic growth trends would continue, buoyed by London having 'put on' jobs after the global financial crisis more quickly than expected.<sup>124</sup> When JSEP met to prepare a 'written statement' in response to the Inspector's Matters, Richard Lee and Robin Brown were somewhat optimistic about the prospects for debating the employment projections at the EiP.<sup>125</sup> Richard explained that the GLA usually

<sup>123</sup> A1 04/07/14 and 08/07/14.

<sup>124</sup> A1 18/03/14.

<sup>125</sup> TR JSEP 06/08/14.

tried to 'neutralise any controversy' by 'establish[ing] the position through the technical seminar', closing down debate in the EiP itself, as Just Space experienced in 2010 (Section 3.3). This time, however, the Inspector had commented that the technical seminar was the place for clarifications only; questions for debate would be heard at the EiP itself. Well, said Richard Lee, 'we are now ready for the debate'. JSEP participants felt the question of whether the FALP 'create[d] the right conditions to support growth' (Matter 6a, Box 5.1) provided an opening to advance its strategic concerns that the FALP would strip out well-used workspace across London, risking 'damaging London's economy, let alone facilitating the growth that the GLA's labour market projections predict' (JSEP 2014c p3). While Matter 6b was clearly intended to test the adequacy of the GLA's evidence base in line with NPPF requirements, as Richard Lee said, it was also 'an opener for us to discuss all these other dimensions to the economy of London'.<sup>126</sup> After the meeting, I therefore worked to re-present and further develop the evidence already submitted by JSEP in response to the FALP consultation around the specific wording of Matters 6a and 6b.

JSEP's written statement highlighted that the projections did not consider interactions between sectors or the emergence of new sectors, and questioned the limits of extending historic trends into the future (e.g. was there a limit as to how low manufacturing employment would go?). It argued for alternative future growth scenarios to be considered and, importantly, suggested that the risk posed to London's diverse economy by the new provisions to encourage conversion of well-located industrial and retail space to housing through the FALP itself had not been taken into account. It re-iterated JSEP's concerns about the impact of the FALP on economic diversity as strategically as possible, saying,

*'JSEP is concerned that the measures to increase new housing supply will result in the loss of affordable workspace, industrial land and weaken high streets and town centres. JSEP presented a range of evidence and examples documenting how jobs are being lost through new developments, rather than gained. The retail, office and industrial land reviews that inform targets for new supply are not based in a sufficient*

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<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

*understanding of the the [sic] ways in which existing employment land is already being productively used' JSEP (2014c p3).*

The Inspector's focus on testing whether the FALP met NPPF requirements to be based in an understanding of 'business needs' and 'economic markets' prompted JSEP to make connections between the problems it identified with the FALP and the lack of understanding about particular economic activities and their potential to contribute to future growth and development. It suggested that the needs of businesses which currently occupied lower-cost workspace in industrial areas, high streets and town centres had not been properly considered. JSEP's proposals for improving the GLA's understanding of the needs of different sectors not only focussed on significantly improving understanding about the pressure on workspace in London but also proposed developing a strategic view from detailed local economic studies, closer working with small business groups in developing plans and specific studies and engagement with social and community enterprises and cooperatives. JSEP put forward a range of detailed proposals for how these different sectors and their needs could be included within the FALP.

The space for debate of these matters turned out to be extremely constrained at the EiP itself. The Inspector chose to bring Matters 6a and 6b together, requiring participants quickly to adjust their material in order to participate in a debate in which there were now multiple, simultaneous strands of discussion. Here, as throughout the EiP, the Planning Inspector was extremely quick to interrupt and dismiss evidence given by participants. Interrupting Michael Edwards' introduction to JSEP's concerns, he rejected the idea that the FALP might influence the future growth pathway of the London economy, saying, 'the plan sets the atmosphere and the position in planning terms and then, like it or not, the market will decide what happens after that'.<sup>127</sup> Michael Edwards explained that JSEP was concerned about how the market allocated land for different uses, given that land used for housing was much more valuable than for employment, and argued that the projections should reflect the constraints on workspace in London. In response, the Planning Inspector said, 'that's for the boroughs to decide', seemingly denying that

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<sup>127</sup> A1 09/09/14.



workspace was a relevant *strategic* issue for the Plan. Michael Edwards again sought to clarify the strategic and serious nature of JSEP's concerns and their relevance to the London Plan, highlighting that many boroughs were under pressure to release employment sites for housing.

The Inspector quickly dismissed evidence of damage to existing businesses from employment land release from Peckham and Tottenham presented by Eileen Conn (Peckham Vision) and Patricia Percy (Tottenham Business Group) as local issues, matters for individual boroughs rather than the London Plan. Eileen Conn's suggestion was, however, a strategic one, which drew on but was not limited to her own local experience in Peckham. She argued that the FALP did not adequately capture the diversity of small existing businesses and their 'self-regenerating capacity' in its evidence base, leading to the destruction of 'existing businesses which are important for the growth of the economy'. She proposed a policy within the London Plan requiring boroughs to undertake studies of the existing local economy prior to development. In response, however, the Inspector simply stated that he was 'not here to rule on these issues'.

Subsequent contributions from Dan Hopewell (Bromley by Bow Centre) and Jessica Ferm (UCL) similarly sought to emphasise the strategic nature of JSEP's concerns. Dan Hopewell suggested that there was a difference in the abilities of large commercial interests and residential communities to shape 'the market' to meet their needs. He suggested that the FALP amounted to 'a chipping away of industrial and workshop space that will see a diminishing of employment opportunities available to our communities, both for small businesses and social enterprises'. Jessica Ferm suggested the FALP was too focussed on creating the space for *new* jobs, risking losing existing jobs through the loss of existing workspace. She argued that the pressure from the housing market in London meant local authorities would benefit from stronger strategic policy support to continue to protect employment land within the London Plan.

When the Inspector invited the GLA officers to respond to the debate, the head of the London Plan team acknowledged the pressure on workspace in London, saying they were closely monitoring industrial land release, the take up

of permitted development and the approach of individual local authorities. GLA officers defended the adequacy of the GLA employment projections and their evidence base more generally. The Inspector offered participants little chance to respond and moved on quickly to the next item of debate. In his report to the Mayor of London, the Planning Inspector summed up his view of the concerns put before him as follows:

*'The FALP does not set a target for employment but predicts that the number of jobs could increase from 4.9m in 2011 to 5.8m in 2036. Community groups question the assumptions made in arriving at this figure... I have neither heard nor seen anything to lead me to doubt the Mayor's assertion that past historical projections have performed reasonably well. Further, The City of London and industry representors support the FALP projection... Historic data also captures the interconnections between the different sectors of London's complex economy. I have seen no evidence to show that the FALP ignores small businesses or the contribution they make... Representors argue that the Mayor does not have an understanding of micro economies and the benefits arising from small businesses being located close together. However, I have seen nothing to suggest that the projections are not based on data relating to the whole economy. Further, the FALP is a strategic plan. The NPPF requires local planning authorities, in preparing local plans, to demonstrate an understanding of the needs of businesses in their area and I see nothing in the FALP to prevent them from doing this' (The Planning Inspectorate 2014 p15).*

With this statement, the Planning Inspector revealed his view that the FALP was based in an adequate understanding of London's economy because the employment projections projected forward historic trend data 'relating to the whole economy'. If the 'whole economy' was 'captured' by the projections, the implication was that all sectors and activities were included in the FALP, making it difficult to see how some could be ignored, marginalised or threatened by its policies. In this way, the projections were used by the Inspector to support his view that understanding and supporting the growth of London's *existing* diverse economy was a *local* matter for the boroughs, rather than a *strategic* matter for the London Plan. The examples presented by JSEP participants were not considered to be 'evidence', in contrast to the view of '[t]he City of London and industry representors' which were cited in support of the GLA's projections. The Inspector's statement therefore highlights the intensely political nature of the employment projections and the centrality of what constitutes a 'strategic' matter in debates about London's economy and its future development. Both

issues had an equally important role in shaping debates at the EiP on the proposals at the heart of JSEP's concerns, namely those encouraging boroughs to covert surplus well-located industrial land and retail space to housing.

#### *5.4.2 Questioning the idea of London having a 'surplus' of industrial land*

JSEP worked hard to challenge the Mayor's proposal to encourage the release of 'surplus' industrial land around transport nodes for high-density housing development. A surplus between projected supply of and demand for industrial workspace in London has been identified in successive studies commissioned by the GLA to inform the London Plan and Strategic Planning Guidance (SPG) on industrial land (Roger Tym and Partners 2011, URS Corporation Limited in association with DTZ 2010). The London Plan sets benchmarks for local authorities and London as a whole for the release of this surplus, whilst protecting 'strategic industrial areas' (identified by the GLA) and, to a lesser extent, 'locally significant industrial areas' (identified by local authorities) (Mayor of London 2004, 2008 and 2011). The industrial land SPG suggests that boroughs should *retain* their better quality and more functionally important industrial sites, as well as 'sites that provide scope for low cost accommodation where there is evidence of demand' (GLA 2012 p49), while focusing their release of *surplus* industrial land for other uses on 'poorer quality industrial land, with the greatest potential for becoming a successful place when redeveloped with housing and social infrastructure for example... Good public transport access is an essential prerequisite for non-industrial redevelopment of surplus industrial land' (p69).

The annual loss of industrial land has consistently and substantially exceeded benchmarks. On average, 86 hectares were lost annually between 2001 and 2006 and 87 hectares between 2006 and 2010, rising to 116.3 hectares in 2011/12 before falling to 72.5 hectares in 2012/13, compared to the benchmark of 41 hectares set in the 2011 London Plan (GLA 2012, Mayor of London 2014a). While the FALP included new, lower benchmarks in order to slow the loss of industrial land, it also encouraged local authorities to release surplus well-located industrial sites, making no mention of the need to consider the character of existing uses nor the demand for low-cost workspace.

Focussing release on the sites most attractive to developers (the best located land) was intended to maximise the housing delivery resulting from industrial land release and therefore contribute to the increased housing targets resulting from higher than previously predicted population growth.

JSEP participants opposed this proposal because they felt it would encourage *more* release of industrial land, not less, most likely including sites which were sought after and well used, not least as a result of their good transport links.<sup>128</sup> Business and community groups with experience of (threatened) displacement from industrial areas started attending meetings in order to find out about the proposals and to access support,<sup>129</sup> enabling JSEP to marshall a wider range of evidence in its consultation response. This included Thames Gateway Forum's mapping of industrial activities in Charlton with UCL students (Just Space and UCL 2013), Affordable Wick's mapping of low-cost and live-work space in Hackney Wick and Fish Island (Richard Brown nd), experiences of threatened displacement from members of EETG (2014), in particular Truman's Beer in Hackney Wick, Camley Street Neighbourhood Forum's efforts to retain industrial land in King's Cross and Jessica Ferm's research on affordable workspace (Ferm 2014a and 2014b) and industrial land (Ferm and Jones 2015). JSEP vigorously opposed the proposal in the hope of securing an alternative approach in the next London Plan, recognising that it would probably be unsuccessful within the confines of the FALP EiP. As Michael Ball (WCDG) said, 'we might not win it but the important thing, I think, is this is an interim plan, there's going to be another plan so... if it does get through, then we've got to say, look what's happened'.<sup>130</sup>

Paragraph 4.23 encourages the release of surplus industrial land around public transport nodes to enable the provision of high density development for housing. However, these sites may be the most suitable/attractive to employers so is there a danger that this policy may deter investment and hinder the delivery of new employment?

*Box 5.2 The Planning Inspector's question on the release of 'surplus' industrial land around transport nodes, for debate at the FALP EiP. Source: Thickett (2014b p8).*

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<sup>128</sup> TR JSEP 15/03/14.

<sup>129</sup> RD 24/03/14.

<sup>130</sup> TR JSEP 05/09/14.

The Planning Inspector chose to include only one question on this proposal in his Matters for consideration at the EiP (Box 5.2). While the scope for debate appeared to be very narrow, it also prompted JSEP to focus its attention on challenging the idea that there was a surplus of industrial land in London at all. Preparing for the EiP, Eileen Conn (Peckham Vision) said, 'is the nub of it then, what does surplus mean and who defines what it is?'<sup>131</sup> Several JSEP participants were concerned about the ways in which planning officers determine whether industrial land is surplus, importantly that they were not obliged to make any assessment of the economic activity already taking place in an area, nor its potential for growth. In the case of Hackney Wick and Fish Island, the LLDC had taken a more sensitive approach and had surveyed the existing users of industrial land but, as Richard Brown (Affordable Wick) recounted, 'the thing is that actually when they do reviews and they walk around the neighbourhood and knock on doors and they find that people aren't there in industrial units they then have to put them down as either unknown or vacant and actually quite often its live-work or there's some kind of amazing industry that's going on that's not there at the moment when they knock on the door'.<sup>132</sup> Several participants found it difficult to relate to the idea of London having a surplus of industrial land, being aware of or having direct experience of the demand for low-cost workspace. As Richard Brown said, 'there's no end to people who are saying they can't find industrial space'.<sup>133</sup>

JSEP began to argue instead that the GLA's industrial land SPG (Roger Tym & Partners 2011) and other such employment land reviews carried out by local planning authorities had a role in actually *making* industrial land surplus. This argument became clear when the group discussed the possibility of proposing a change in wording from 'surplus' to 'vacant' industrial land, in order to prevent local authorities disposing of well-used sites.<sup>134</sup> However, as Michael Ball (WCDG) said, 'vacant is easy to produce. You just chuck out what's there and it's vacant'.<sup>135</sup> JSEP had already collected examples of how local authorities and land owners were able to empty attractive industrial areas of tenants, for example by ending leases, offering only very short leases or

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<sup>131</sup> TR JSEP 05/09/14.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> TR JSEP 05/09/14.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

licenses, not advertising available space, etc (JSEP 2014a, Ferm and Jones 2015). At the EiP, Patricia Percy (Tottenham Business Group) provided the example of the High Road West development scheme, linked to the new Tottenham Hotspur stadium development, which put 200 jobs on well-located and well-used industrial land at risk (see Chapter 7).<sup>136</sup> She argued that employment land surveys had a tendency to turn into the destruction of industrial land and made the case for the social and economic benefits of retaining industry. Similarly, Eileen Conn explained how housing-led development in Peckham town centre risked choking the self-regenerating growth of existing occupiers of workshop space under the railway arches.<sup>137</sup> Both Richard Brown and Jessica Ferm highlighted the role of rising residential prices in driving the conversion of industrial areas to housing, driving out occupiers.<sup>138</sup>

In these ways, JSEP participants presented a view of industrial decline as being an active and political process, in part the product of the London Plan itself, its non-implementation and the actions of local planning authorities and landowners, rather than a natural or inevitable economic evolution. This view opened up the possibility of alternative policy positions. For example, Dan Hopewell (Bromley by Bow Centre) suggested that local authorities should be required to make industrial land work, rather than convert it to residential use if it was vacant or not well used.<sup>139</sup> Eileen Conn (Peckham Vision) proposed that local authorities should be required to assess the existing economic dynamics and its growth potential before considering whether to release industrial land to other uses. JSEP members attracted support from London Assembly members, Nicky Gavron and Navin Shah, but derision from the London First representative who claimed their arguments amounted to scaremongering.

As would be expected, at the EiP the GLA planning officers defended the conclusions of their review of demand and supply of industrial land (Roger Tym & Partners 2011), insisting that there was indeed a surplus of industrial land in London and that the GLA's approach was to try to focus release on those areas

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<sup>136</sup> A1 09/09/14.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> TR JSEP 05/09/14

where it could have the greatest benefit. They recognised the tensions between housing and employment growth, saying the GLA felt it had got the balance right but that this would be a major issue for the next industrial land review and a new London Plan. Much earlier on in the FALP process, another GLA officer had also acknowledged these tensions when they were raised by Roy Tindle, going even further by suggesting that ‘something had to give’ in order to deliver more housing.<sup>140</sup> The Mayor could have put forward a plan that was about industrial London, the officer said, but that wouldn't meet people's housing needs, he claimed. For the Planning Inspector, however, none of JSEP's concerns were relevant because, if a surplus were identified, local planning authorities were obliged by the NPPF not to continue to protect it for employment uses.<sup>141</sup> Surplus was something defined through the technical expertise of planners and their consultants; it was not open to debate by business and community groups at the EiP. JSEP participants therefore struggled to be heard by the Inspector because they engaged in the debate from a very different perspective. When presenting evidence, they were often passionate, their business or community potentially at risk of being directly affected by the changes proposed to the London Plan and having direct experience of the adverse impact of development decisions and processes.

In fact, the Roger Tym & Partners report contained material that JSEP could have used to support its arguments in the EiP. Several months prior to the EiP, JSEP had discussed the Roger Tym & Partners report (2011) but did not develop a detailed critique of it. UCL Geography PhD student, Ana McMillin, had prepared a summary of the long and technical report which allowed JSEP participants to engage with some of its detailed assumptions and calculations.<sup>142</sup> Participants raised concerns that the categories used (manufacturing/services, industrial land) did not reflect the ways in which the London economy and its spatial characteristics were changing. For example, industrial activities were taking place outside designated industrial areas, including in town centres, while non-industrial activities also took place inside formally designated industrial areas. Additionally, London was developing specialisms in activities which bridged manufacturing and service sectors.

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<sup>140</sup> A1 06/03/14.

<sup>141</sup> A1 09/09/14.

<sup>142</sup> A1 20/03/14.

Furthermore, JSEP argued, a growing population would also create growing demand for the activities taking place on industrial land, including logistics, transportation and utilities.

The Roger Tym & Partners (2011) report acknowledged many of the issues JSEP identified but only incorporated them into its assessment of future demand for industrial land to a limited extent. For example, the report acknowledged that new forms of manufacturing such as 3D printing and changes in distribution practices might increase demand for industrial land within London but did not incorporate these scenarios into its benchmarks. The report also noted that many service activities took place on industrial land ('many occupiers... will neither know nor care about the land use designation of their premises' p46), due to its being in the right location, a lack of more appropriate premises and/or having some requirement for industrial land. While acknowledging that '[i]t is this service component that is likely to grow' (*ibid*), the study's authors chose not to incorporate any positive demand from this sector into its calculations of future demand for industrial land in London. Astonishingly, they stated instead that, 'these are the current occupiers of industrial land but we do not want to provide additional industrial land for them in the future' (p54). They concluded that the increasing use of industrial land as a stock of affordable workspace suggested that the London Plan needed to provide 'greater clarity' on the 'protection of affordable land for employment given the pressures of residential values' (p151). Had JSEP been able to refer to these aspects of the Roger Tym & Partners report in the EiP, it is possible that the Planning Inspector and the GLA would not have been able to dismiss the issues raised by participants so easily. As JSEP participants increase their knowledge and skills through further activities focussed on industrial land (see Appendix 3), they may be better able to influence these debates in future.

#### *5.4.3 Debating the future of London's town centres*

The Mayor's proposal to encourage local authorities to convert retail to high-density housing and mixed use developments in town centres was motivated not only by the need to deliver more housing but also by a forecast decline in the need for retail space. An updated review of forecast retail floorspace need



and demand in London, conducted by Experian (the 'Experian review'), had arrived at a much lower estimate of future demand for additional comparison goods retail floorspace than had informed the 2011 London Plan: 0.4 to 1.6 million sqm compared to 1.3 to 2.2 million sqm (Mayor of London 2014a p143, taking account of schemes already in the 'planning pipeline'). Experian suggested that the reduced forecast was mainly due to reduced domestic retail spending arising from ongoing financial instability and 'a substantial and continuing move from shop-based retail purchases to on-line retail' (Experian and GLA 2013 p5). A change was proposed to Policy 4.7 (Retail) to encourage boroughs to 'consolidate' the surplus retail floorspace that the Experian review predicted in some parts of London, while changes to Policy 2.15 (Town Centres) provided boroughs with detailed guidance on how to 'proactively manage the changing role of [town] centres, especially those with surplus retail and office floorspace' (p65). New floorspace would be delivered at international and metropolitan town centres, while the surplus floorspace in medium-sized town centres would be 'consolidated' through high-density housing development. This approach was informed by the (then unpublished) Outer London Commission's Third Report (GLA 2014f) which identified medium-sized town centres as 'likely to face the greatest challenge from changing consumer behaviour and requirements' (Mayor of London 2014a p68).

While this change was presented as a 'minor alteration', JSEP discovered through its close reading and discussions that it was predicted substantially to alter London's economy geography, reducing the share of retail floorspace in outer London from a half to a third and increasing the share in central London (specifically the Central Activities Zone) from a quarter to almost a half.<sup>143</sup> Having looked in detail at the proposals and the Experian review, Michael Ball (WCDG) was able to share his knowledge and analysis with other JSEP participants.<sup>144</sup> Focussing delivery of new retail workspace in a few, very large (Westfield-like) town centre developments, he said, would decimate other town centres, going against the London Plan's approach to sustainable development.<sup>145</sup> It would also make ethnic and minority retailers in middle-sized

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<sup>143</sup> TR JSEP 05/09/14.

<sup>144</sup> A1 15/03/14 and 20/03/14; TR JSEP 15/03/14 and 20/03/14; see also WCDG 2014a and 2014b.

<sup>145</sup> TR JS 15/03/14

town centres more vulnerable to displacement. Sharon Hayward (London Tenants Federation) also highlighted town centre redevelopment schemes in Old Oak Common and White City that threatened the shops and services used by low-income residents. JSEP became concerned that the dynamism and growth occurring through reuse and adaptation of existing retail spaces in many medium-sized town centres would be stripped out by the proposed changes.<sup>146</sup>

Participants therefore began to explore how and why middle-sized town centres that they experienced as thriving might be assessed to be in decline by Experian. Michael Ball argued that Experian had neglected the specialist functions of many smaller town centres, which meant that they would not necessarily decline if other larger centres grew.<sup>147</sup> Michael Edwards argued that because Experian were looking at retail from a real estate perspective, they would disregard and discount well-used and valued retail activities as 'low value' and 'low quality'.<sup>148</sup> Similarly, Richard Lee suggested that the growth JSEP participants were talking about would be less than what Experian was looking for. He suggested JSEP would need to 'challenge the idea of what do we mean by growth... if you're a small family business and for you growth is being able to take on an extra person next year... the problem is that to [Experian] that's absolute rubbish'.<sup>149</sup> Participants identified a range of evidence which challenged the Experian perspective, including the experiences of WCC, Latin Elephant, FoQM and PEACH, which had been presented and discussed in JSEP seminars and previous Just Space events, examples of thriving town centres (e.g. Brixton, Clapham, Peckham, Camberwell, Herne Hill and Elephant and Castle), contrasting the success of Deptford town centre which had focussed on meeting local needs with the failure of Woolwich which had attempted to attract big high street brands, and research on high streets and town centres showing the contribution of ethnic and migrant retail (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, Hall 2014 and 2015a, Latin Elephant 2014, Vaughan *et al* 2009 and 2013). I attempted to 'knit together' the community and academic evidence

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<sup>146</sup> TR JSEP 05/09/14.

<sup>147</sup> A1 15/03/14 and 20/03/14; TR JSEP 15/03/14 and 20/03/14; see also WCDG 2014a and 2014b.

<sup>148</sup> TR JSEP 20/03/14.

<sup>149</sup> TR JSEP 05/09/14.

gathered by JSEP in order to 'challenge [the] idea that town centres are in decline'<sup>150</sup> in the group's response to the FALP consultation (JSEP 2014a).

7a) The FALP at paragraph 4.40 identifies a need for between 0.4 to 1.6 million m<sup>2</sup> of comparison goods retail floorspace by 2036. Is this based on robust evidence and does the FALP provide an adequate steer with regard to the location of this new floorspace?

7b) The FALP envisages a structural change in retail provision driven largely by changes in the way people shop (internet, multi-channel shopping, etc) and leading to, amongst other things, the expansion or strengthening of some centres and the decline of others. Are the proposed alterations to Policies 2.15, 4.7 and 4.8 (and the supporting reasoned justification) sufficient to manage these changes, particularly where centres are declining to ensure that they remain viable and vital? (commensurate to their function and place in the hierarchy)....

7d) The NPPF states that residential development can play an important role in ensuring the vitality of town centres. In promoting high density residential development in town centres, should Policy 2.15c recognise that this should not be at the expense of the viability and vitality of town centres?

*Box 5.3 The Planning Inspector's questions on the Experian retail review and the proposal to release 'surplus' retail space in town centres, for debate at the FALP EiP. Source: Thickett (2014b p9).*

Challenging the Experian review became even more important when its robustness was one of a small number of narrow matters selected by the Planning Inspector for debate at the EiP (Box 5.3), reflecting the requirement to test the soundness of the evidence base through the EiP process. Having agreed to speak at the EiP on this matter on behalf of JSEP, I attempted to connect JSEP's concerns to the technicalities of the Experian review methodology in order to make use of the opportunity for debate. I highlighted that the conclusion of the Experian review, namely that there was a reduced demand for retail workspace, was based in part on incorrectly applying UK-wide trends to London and assuming an ongoing impact from the global financial crisis, contradicting the GLA's employment projections.<sup>151</sup> I also questioned the focus on the demand for comparison goods, excluding demand for convenience goods, and argued that the analysis should be re-run in the light of the relaxation of permitted development rights, which would likely remove a considerable amount of retail floorspace through conversion to housing. The

<sup>150</sup> A1 15/03/14; TR JS 15/03/14.

<sup>151</sup> A1 10/09/14.

major focus of my critique, however, was on the circularity of the Experian model which, I argued, ‘forecasts the decline of smaller centres because it only tests scenarios in which the larger centres grow and its assumption that demand is constant therefore means that other centres must necessarily decline’.<sup>152</sup> I drew on JSEP’s discussions to present evidence of ‘many middling town centres and high streets in London as thriving, interesting and important, rather than the declining, out-dated and vacant places the Experian review paints them as’.<sup>153</sup>

At the EiP, the Experian review was challenged by a range of different groups and interests. Michael Ball and I gave our evidence, with Michael Ball highlighting the inherent uncertainty of the Experian review, in particular its long time frame and simplistic assumptions about changes in consumer behaviour.<sup>154</sup> A representative from the London Borough of Tower Hamlets also raised concerns that the permitted development flexibilities proposed by the Government to facilitate conversion of retail space to residential had not been factored in. Representatives of London First and Earls Court Properties LP chimed in on the debate, taking the opportunity to make the case for more large-scale retail development by arguing that the Experian review underestimated the need for additional comparison goods retail space.<sup>155</sup>

The GLA planning officers acknowledged that JSEP had correctly identified a resurgence in London’s high streets and town centres, saying ‘we know good stuff is going on and growth is happening’.<sup>156</sup> However, they also defended the perspective provided by the Experian review, saying that the London Plan had to be forward looking and anticipate future challenges.<sup>157</sup> Later on, another GLA officer acknowledged there could be a discrepancy between the two views and that the GLA might need to reconsider the issue in future. In these exchanges, it became possible momentarily to hold together two different perspectives about the prospects for London’s high streets and town centres, recognising that each offered a different view. However, the

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<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> A1 11/09/14.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

Planning Inspector quickly closed down the space to explore these different perspectives in relation to one another, preventing further discussion after the GLA's response. His report confirmed that he had 'seen no better evidence nor have I good reason to disagree with the Mayor's conclusion that the need for comparison goods floorspace will fall within the range identified in the FALP... I see nothing in these changes to encourage decline nor anything which seeks to marginalise smaller, independent retailers' (The Planning Inspectorate 2014 p16). For the Planning Inspector, then, the Experian review was either robust or not robust; it was not simply one way of thinking about London's town centres and high streets amongst many, it was the best way.

Lacking any other route to raise their concerns about the displacement of diverse economic activities from high streets and town centres, JSEP participants had decided tactically to use the Inspector's emphasis on 'viable and vital' town centres in Matters 7b and 7d (see Box 5.3) to open up the question of how the value of retail activities was determined.<sup>158</sup> Sue Penny (WCC) highlighted that, while Wards Corner was often described as 'run down' and in need of redevelopment, Seven Sisters market was in fact a well-used London-wide attraction providing goods and services not available elsewhere, with low vacancy rates. Eileen Conn (Peckham Vision) described how high-density housing development in Peckham town centre was destroying the 'organic growth' underway there. She suggested that there was a 'vacuum' in understanding the finely-grained nature of London's economy at the strategic level, which led to boroughs following the 'grand sweeps' of major development which they found easier to grasp. Peckham Vision, PEACH and EETG argued that the FALP would therefore *damage rather than secure* the viability and vitality of town centres, making creative use of the Inspector's wording to raise their concerns. Michael Bach (London Forum) raised concerns that the proposed changes were 'cleansing' affordable workspace for small businesses. These debates echoed some of the concerns voiced by others round the table, in particular Nicky Gavron AM (Chair of the London Assembly Planning Committee) who wanted to see food production and craft recognised within town centre policy and raised concerns about labelling retail space as 'surplus'.

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<sup>158</sup> A1 11/09/14; TR JSEP 05/09/14

WCC and PEACH argued that the role and contribution of diverse activities in high streets and town centres was not being recognised, in part because local businesses were not sufficiently involved in planning and development processes. Moaz Nanjuwany (then chair of the Tottenham Traders Partnership and member of WCC, see Chapter 7), reminded the Planning Inspector that small businesses made up 80% of London's economy, claiming that 'small businesses don't have a voice... it's becoming clear that it's the corporate interests that this institution is listening to... it's very hard for small businesses to participate in these hearings'. Drawing on PEACH's experience in attempting to negotiate a shopkeepers' charter in relation to the Custom House regeneration scheme, organiser Hero Austin argued for a policy to require boroughs to work with existing businesses to ensure their ability to return to new developments, saying that even the most successful businesses could not survive redevelopment unless they 'had a part to play'. In response, the GLA's planning officer stated he would consider an amendment on this point. This commitment ultimately produced a very minor further amendment to Policy 2.15 on Town Centres, adding 'community engagement' to the list of items local planning authorities were required to 'support and encourage' as part of their local planning frameworks (Mayor of London 2014d p6).

JSEP participants appeared to have succeeded in communicating their concerns that the FALP would damage the vitality and viability of town centres. The GLA planning officer assured the enquiry that, 'it is the intention of the Mayor that all town centres should be vibrant and vital' and agreed to 'take away' the Inspector's suggestion that such wording should be included within the policy 'to alleviate the fears of the people in this room'.<sup>159</sup> For the GLA, however, this was a matter of perception only; the officer dismissed all suggestions that the FALP would damage medium-sized town centres. Indeed, the changes the GLA later introduced merely re-stated that boroughs 'should sustain and enhance the vitality and viability of centres' (Mayor of London 2014c p5). However, once the GLA had committed to considering making changes to the FALP, the Inspector used this commitment to curtail debate further on the potential tension between housing growth and employment in town centres. He continually interrupted and dismissed the evidence of JSEP

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<sup>159</sup> A1 11/09/14.

participants by stating that the plan could not protect individual businesses, that he was not there to consider local cases and that he did not want to hear multiple examples or repeated arguments from different people.

Patria Roman-Velazquez (Latin Elephant) secured a more significant change to the FALP by developing her critique of the Plan's neglect of ethnic and migrant retailers into a specific policy proposal.<sup>160</sup> Drawing parallels with new policy wording to support Tech City, she proposed the London Plan be amended to support ethnic and migrant retailers and entrepreneurs as an important and growing sector of the London economy. This proposal was supported not only by other JSEP participants but also by Nicky Gavron AM, Navin Shah AM and LB Tower Hamlets. Without further discussion or prompting, the GLA's planning officer stated he would 'take it away' to consider. The reasons for this unusually proactive and positive response are not clear although it is possible that the strength and breadth of support for the proposal and/or the GLA's duties to eliminate discrimination and advance equalities under the Equality Act 2012 may have been significant factors. As a result of JSEP's efforts, new wording was inserted into the Plan's retail sector policy requiring local planning authorities to 'have regard to' the potential 'to realise the economic benefits of diversity' in their management of 'clusters of uses' (Mayor of London 2016 p150). This new wording has since been used by Latin Elephant and WCC in their campaigns (e.g. Latin Elephant *et al* 2015, Roman-Velazquez with Peluffo 2017, M. Taylor 2017).

#### *5.4.4 Reviewing JSEP's experiences through the FALP consultation and EiP*

JSEP succeeded in its primary goal of mobilising a much greater diversity of economic actors to engage with the economic aspects of the London Plan, resulting in an unprecedented number of 16 representatives of community and small business groups participating in the FALP EiP in September 2014.<sup>161</sup> As Corinne Turner (Peckham Vision) said at JSEP's review of its first 15 months' activities, 'I think that was totally apparent at the EiP where had we not been [there]... there would have been just the authoritative figures there and speculators I think. So it's just scary, unbelievable, you know, that this

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<sup>160</sup> A1 11/09/14.

<sup>161</sup> A1 31/08/14 and 05/09/14.

happens'.<sup>162</sup> As a result of JSEP's efforts, the GLA introduced new wording into the London Plan town centre policy which, while falling far short of what the group proposed, offered community and business groups fighting against displacement some limited policy support which they could use to strengthen their campaigns and initiatives.

With this exception, however, JSEP's efforts to advance the prospects for alternative, more inclusive approaches to economic development through the formal participatory spaces of the FALP consultation and EiP were overwhelmingly unsuccessful. Robin Brown felt that overall there had been few opportunities to 'critique the nature and trajectory of the (macro) economy of London'.<sup>163</sup> The group's argument that the Plan did not adequately recognise or support London's diverse economy did not convince the Inspector nor did JSEP succeed in challenging the FALP's proposals to increase flexibility to convert industrial land and retail space to housing in high streets and town centres. Despite the group's considerable efforts to mobilise and represent the diversity of London's economy, JSEP encountered the same resistance from the GLA and the Planning Inspector that had prompted Just Space to launch a dedicated Economy and Planning group in the first place. JSEP's 'room for manoeuvre' to secure changes to the London Plan proved to be extremely constrained, as other studies of contemporary urban development processes in London have found (Colomb 2008 p158, Edwards 2009 and 2010b).

In one reading, then, JSEP's experience poses a significant challenge to Just Space's established strategy and tactics of bringing together community and academic evidence in order to contest the London Plan, informed by the understanding that better evidence and representation will be more likely to secure policy changes. This outcome will come as no surprise to readers familiar with the dominant narratives of the global city view being firmly embedded in London's metropolitan governance arrangements, largely unchallenged through political processes (Section 3.2). With these experiences and narratives in mind, it sometimes seemed as though we were pursuing a fool's errand, deluded by our hopes for another London economy into taking on

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<sup>162</sup> TR JSEP 13/10/14.

<sup>163</sup> A1 13/10/14.



powerful institutions, interests and ideas. More often, however, I turned to the more open and generative ways of thinking developed in Chapters 2 and 3 for inspiration about where and how to look for a more hopeful analysis of JSEP's efforts and activities over its first 15 months. While Just Space and JSEP continue to engage with the formal participatory processes in relation to the London Plan and other statutory Mayoral documents, their experiences during the FALP prompted the network to experiment with a range of other tactics and strategies, including collectively developing an alternative community-led London Plan and directly lobbying Mayoral candidates.<sup>164</sup> Like other community and activist groups (Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2007, Oldfield 2015, Oldfield and Stokke 2007), Just Space (and JSEP with it) is therefore increasingly advancing its goals through opposition and alternatives, as well as engagement with formal participatory processes.

JSEP participants also found the process of taking part in the consultation and EiP on the FALP empowering and productive, despite its being 'like shouting in a hollow chamber', as Eileen Conn (Peckham Vision) put it.<sup>165</sup> At JSEP's review meeting, several people said they had felt empowered to 'stand up more robustly to the paradigm of economic thought that is what we're all fighting' and get their message across.<sup>166</sup> For example, representatives from Latin Elephant and Peckham Vision felt that they had developed ways to use their local experience to engage in a debate about strategic economic issues at metropolitan level. In fact, the FALP played a significant role in mobilising diverse economic actors to take part in JSEP's activities. The group was able to attract groups and individuals it had previously struggled to engage because the FALP represented a new threat to low-cost workspace in London, already a matter of concern to groups such as EETG, Affordable Wick and the FSB. Despite limited success in securing changes to the London Plan, JSEP therefore built relationships, solidarity, skills, experience and confidence in the process of participating in the consultation and EiP on the FALP which informed and motivated their activities in other spheres, starting with a public event aimed at opening up debate on London's economy beyond the confines and limits of the FALP.

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<sup>164</sup> TR JSEP 13/10/14.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

## 5.5 Exploring alternative economic development strategies for London

*Image redacted in e-thesis*

*Figure 5.4 Debating London's economy and economic development at the JSEP's 'London for all' event on 14 July 2014 at the Bromley by Bow Centre. Source: Tom Bolton, with permission.*

JSEP's regular seminars culminated in an event bringing together around 60 participants for a whole day of presentations and discussions at the Bromley by Bow Centre on 14 July 2014 (Figure 5.4). JSEP had always intended to organise a public event to draw a larger and broader audience into its discussions and activities. It began to take on greater importance, however, in light of the limited possibilities for debate offered by the FALP EiP process. JSEP decided that the public event should focus on reconnecting understandings of London's economy with the needs, desires and experiences of people, recognising that for many the economy was 'dry and invisible', as Dan Hopewell put it.<sup>167</sup> This focus eventually led to the event's being titled, 'London for all: opening up debate on London's economy'. This framing, and the event itself, communicated that reconnecting London's economy with a range of broad concerns depended on the involvement of a greater diversity of economic

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<sup>167</sup> TR JSEP 20/06/14.

actors in strategic planning debates. As JSEP wrote, the event ‘demonstrated the need for policy-makers to look beyond the “usual suspects” – developers, financial services and big business – for the evidence, experience and ideas they will need to make London a city for all’ (2014b np).

Several JSEP participants gave presentations which articulated the disconnection between dominant narratives of London as a global city and their own knowledge and experience of London’s economy (Section 5.3). Dan Hopewell opened the event by highlighting that the success of Canary Wharf, one mile south of the Bromley by Bow Centre, had not impacted on the lives of the deprived communities around it in Tower Hamlets, which had the highest level of child poverty anywhere in the UK.<sup>168</sup> Eileen Conn drew on her experiences of the ‘parallel economies’ of Peckham Rye Lane to attempt to describe the ‘disconnect... between what’s happening in real life on the street... it’s as if the things that most people experienced in London, the London economy, is not actually thought about as the London economy, because there’s this other economy that is the global economy, which is what’s driving everything’.<sup>169</sup> Patria Roman-Velazquez articulated how the struggles of Latin American traders for recognition in Elephant and Castle related to the broader exclusion of migrant economies within global city narratives, saying, ‘what makes London a global city is... the diversity of the economy... the migrant economy is part of... that global economy... we’re not just talking about... city banks and so on, we’re also talking about migrant people who come and do business in London’.<sup>170</sup> Gradually, participants began to populate the idea of London’s economy with their own diverse knowledge and experiences, signalling their own relationship to and involvement in *this* London economy by calling it ‘the real economy’ or ‘the economy we have’.

These narratives of London’s diverse economy provided a basis from which more inclusive growth pathways could be explored. Jack Hibberd (Truman’s Beer and EETG) and Sue Terpilowski (FSB) both made the case for supporting the organic growth of London’s large numbers of small and medium sized businesses, which could train and employ gradually increasing numbers

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<sup>168</sup> TR JSEP 14/07/14.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

of people, rather than just looking to niche sectors with potential for accelerated growth.<sup>171</sup> Sue Terpilowski said, ‘I don’t want accelerated growth. I don’t want Grant Thornton to come into my company and take it from nine people to 50 people. I don’t want to lose control of my business. I want to put on three, four people every two, three years and have a nice company. And I should be allowed to do that. But all the money, all the grants everything that comes about is accelerated growth, you’ve all got to do everything on high speed’.<sup>172</sup> Jack Hibberd and Sue Terpilowski proposed that retaining ‘scruffy’ workspace in town centres and industrial estates, rather than turning it into housing, new offices and/or live-work space at great profit to developers, would support a more organic and inclusive form of growth. Many JSEP participants also drew on evidence they were developing through participating in the consultation and preparing for the EiP on the FALP to explain the value of retaining and nurturing the diverse activities taking place in industrial areas, high streets and town centres. These discussions further developed a theme which had emerged from previous Just Space and JSEP discussions, namely ‘building on the economy we have’.<sup>173</sup>

*London for All* created a temporary space in which London’s future economic growth was a matter for political decision-making, rather than a zone of technical economic forecasting beyond the realm of public debate (Chapter 3). This tone was set early on by Jenny Jones AM, then Chair of the London Assembly Economy Committee, who opened the event by arguing that inequality and climate change meant that it was time to move away from the established focus on growth which benefited the few, not all Londoners.<sup>174</sup> Sue Terpilowski presented a stark choice facing Londoners between being a city of big businesses or a city of small businesses:

*‘We can be what the London Plan says, which is a world city, dominating the world and going forward with all the different big businesses... But London can’t say it wants to be a world city but it wants a thriving and small business community but do nothing to help it... London’s got to make some choices... And we as Londoners, and I’m proud to be a Londoner, need to influence that choice. And I know the London I want,*

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<sup>171</sup> TR JSEP 14/07/14.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> TR JSEP 25/09/13, 15/03/14 and 14/07/14.

<sup>174</sup> TR JSEP 14/07/14.

*which is a thriving social, economic, sustainable London... So what we've got to do as citizens of London is think about what do we want London to be and it's up to us to actually go out and fight for those sort of things... It's what we want, and then we need to put the right infrastructure in place.'* Sue Terpilowski, speaking at 'London for all', 14 July 2014.

These arguments were important in creating a space in which it became possible to imagine, compare and decide in relation to different possible economic growth pathways for London. Rachel Laurence (New Economics Foundation) and Diane Perrons (London School of Economics and Political Science) emphasised the importance of thinking about what we want the economy to deliver for us.<sup>175</sup> Towards the end of the event, participants offered up creative and playful ideas for measures of success that might inform alternative, more inclusive economic growth pathways, for example, becoming the best city in which to bring up a child; aiming for number seven in the global hierarchy rather than number one; balancing the global city with a city in which people can live and work; and targeting local employment for gender equality. These ideas opened up alternative bases for determining the value of different sectors and activities making up the London economy, destabilising the naturalness or inevitability of presently dominant approaches and revealing its economic development to be subject to political contestation and democratic control.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

Participating in the FALP consultation and EiP process had a profound effect on JSEP. The threat the FALP posed to relatively low-cost workspace in well-located industrial areas and town centres enabled JSEP to mobilise small business and community groups, forming a London-wide network. Importantly, this threat provided a strategic narrative around which JSEP could gather together knowledge, experience and evidence about the role, contribution and threat to diverse economic activities, including small businesses, industrial firms, migrant and ethnic minority retailers, market traders and community and social enterprises. Those who participated in the EiP found it an empowering and emboldening experience, through which they affirmed and deepened their

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<sup>175</sup> TR JSEP 14/07/14.

sense of shared purpose and knowledge of what needed to be done. By supporting one another to engage with lengthy and complex documents and to speak in intimidating environments, JSEP participants brought the diversity of London's economy into the EiP process. Simply by being present, they challenged the power and dominance of London First and the City of London Corporation in representing London's economy in strategic planning debates. JSEP participants challenged the employment projections and the Experian retail review, drawing on the perspectives of workspace users/occupiers to argue that the economic evidence base underpinning the FALP was based on a property development perspective and therefore failed to recognise the diversity of London's economy.

JSEP's experiences also clearly revealed the limits of the EiP as a space of debate about London's economy and economic development. The terms of debate were set by the Inspector, who ignored most of the issues raised by JSEP in its consultation response. The evidence and examples presented by JSEP participants were often dismissed as local issues, matters for the boroughs rather than strategic issues for the London Plan. It was difficult for JSEP participants to get their evidence across, being quickly interrupted and dismissed by a particularly rude and inquisitorial planning inspector, and having little opportunity to re-enter the debate. On occasion, the GLA officers acknowledged the validity of the evidence being presented by JSEP, in particular regarding the excessive loss of industrial land and the resurgence of many high streets and town centres. At the same time, they vigorously defended the previously established evidence base which justified the Mayor's proposals. There appeared to be little scope at this time for any changes actually to be made, either to the evidence base or the policies themselves.

Further, in focusing on the FALP, JSEP temporarily set aside other concerns such as building alliances with trades unions, decent jobs, social and community enterprises and unpaid work. The FALP contributed to JSEP pursuing a somewhat narrower agenda, focused on workspace and economic diversity, in its first 15 months and this focus reduced time and resources for other activities. JSEP dropped the idea of a community conference, for example, and gave much less attention to the London Enterprise Panel (LEP)

than originally anticipated. JSEP's discussion of the LEP's emerging Economic Development Plan and its public event held during July 2014 were therefore important in beginning to open a broader agenda for JSEP again. Appendix 3 summarises how JSEP went on to develop a handbook for community and small business groups (see insert inside back cover), develop a sub-group on industry, hold a series of meetings with GLA Economics on a new Economic Evidence Base, develop propositions for a fair, green, local and diverse London economy for Just Space's community-led London Plan and undertake several new collaborative research projects. JSEP's experiences therefore support the suggestion that even where efforts to secure policy changes are unsuccessful, community and activist groups can create new knowledge and possibilities for action by contesting dominant approaches (Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti 2007).

## **6 “Healthy growth”: developing proposals for inclusive economic development around the Olympic Park**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter explores how the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network mobilised diverse economic actors, developed shared knowledge of the local economy and challenged and developed alternatives to University College London’s (UCL’s) proposal for a new campus and the London Legacy Development Corporation’s (LLDC) emerging local plan. As described in Chapter 4, a group of residents from the Carpenters Estate, Carpenters Against Regeneration Plans (CARP!), began working on a community plan with the support of the London Tenants Federation (LTF) and Just Space to counter UCL’s proposal, predicated on total demolition of the estate (UCL 2011a and 2012). While UCL withdrew in May 2013, Carpenters residents, businesses and other local organisations went on to successfully launch their own community plan in September 2013 (LTF 2013a; extract at Appendix 1, Part Bi). I supported the Carpenters Community Plan group to mobilise local businesses to participate in this process, develop shared knowledge about the local economy and build a vision and propositions for ‘healthy growth’, in which growth of existing businesses was connected with the residential population. Some members of the community planning group also went on to participate in the consultation and Examination in Public (EiP) process to finalise the LLDC local plan, through the Newham Network meetings convened by LTF and Just Space. My role was to mobilise local businesses to join this process, draw together the knowledge and experience of the local economy they shared in meetings and provide specific support in engaging with the economic aspects of the LLDC local plan.

The next three sections of this chapter focus on the interconnected processes of mobilising Carpenters businesses, building shared knowledge about the local economy and developing alternative, more inclusive proposals for local economic development through the Carpenters Community Plan group. I begin in Section 6.2 by exploring how the community planning process offered Carpenters businesses an opportunity to assert themselves as economic actors



with something to contribute to the future of the area through dialogue with the concerns and desires of residents. In Section 6.3, I present the new economic narratives which emerged from the action-oriented interviews I conducted with 12 businesses and other organisations on the Carpenters Estate in order to draw them into the community planning process and generate evidence and ideas for further discussion with residents (Appendix 2, Part Fi). Through interviews, previously hidden economic assets and activities became visible, providing an alternative narrative of the local economy which started by recognising its strengths and assets. In Section 6.4, I explore how residents and businesses gradually came to connect their interests and experiences, developing proposals of mutual concern such as retaining and expanding low-cost workspace, connecting training and employment opportunities for local, young people and supporting the 'healthy growth' of local businesses. This part of the chapter focuses on the period from January to September 2013, when the community plan was launched, after which focus shifted towards setting up a neighbourhood forum.

Section 6.5 goes on to explore the efforts of Carpenters residents, businesses and the wider Newham Network to engage with the economic aspects of the emerging LLDC local plan (LLDC 2013 and 2014) between August 2013 and March 2015.<sup>176</sup> Both the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network were curious as to whether the LLDC's 'legacy' and 'convergence' goals meant it would take their views and concerns more seriously than LBN had when it took over responsibility for the local planning framework. In the end, Carpenters residents and businesses were only able to secure limited policy support for their community plan proposals through the LLDC local plan consultation and EiP. However, the consultation and EiP process also mobilised other economic actors from other parts of the LLDC territory to participate in the Newham Network's meetings and discussions, sharing their knowledge and experience with others. Although the LLDC's legacy and convergence goals were limited, they motivated the Newham Network to develop elements of a more inclusive, alternative approach to

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<sup>176</sup> Although my PhD fieldwork finished in October 2014, I organised a special meeting of the Newham Network in February 2015 to help participants prepare for the EiP and supported them give evidence at the EiP itself in March 2015. This chapter is therefore able to follow the Newham Network's work to engage with the LLDC local plan through to the end of the EiP.

economic development, including making the case for retaining industrial workspace and strong targets for jobs, training and education for local residents.

## **6.2 Mobilising businesses on the Carpenters Estate**

Before any of the businesses located in and around the Carpenters Estate began to participate in the Carpenters Community Plan group, Carpenters residents decided to make supporting their right to remain in the area part of the community plan.<sup>177</sup> The community plan group decided to find out more about the local economy in order to identify businesses to invite to workshops to produce the Carpenters Community Plan. This was a process of discovery that began with residents' own and everyday knowledge of the businesses located in the area. LBN's and UCL's plans and proposals were no use, as they made no mention of existing businesses (LBN 2012a, UCL 2012b).

Walking around the Carpenters Estate on a very cold day in December 2012, residents pointed out the businesses they were aware of – including a newsagent, a car mechanic's, a hotel and a pub – and a range of public or third sector facilities and institutions which residents also wanted to include: a small police station, a church also advertising child care services, community centre, school and further and higher education providers.<sup>178</sup> I used the information generated during the 'walkabout' to create a first draft of the Carpenters business directory which I then developed through further discussion in community planning meetings, email exchanges with residents, interviews with businesses and further follow-up visits. Through this iterative process of discovery, new economic activities became visible. The business directory grew quickly from the 11 businesses identified during the walkabout, to 17 businesses by the second community planning workshop in February 2013 and 31 by the third,<sup>179</sup> a month later (Figure 6.1).

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<sup>177</sup> A2 11/02/13.

<sup>178</sup> A2 04/12/12.

<sup>179</sup> A2 04/12/12, 11/02/13 and 25/03/13.



Figure 6.1 Map of Carpenters Estate showing the location of businesses and other organisations included in the Carpenters Business Directory. Source: own observations, map and design by Miles Irving (UCL Geography Drawing Office), with permission, photos 1 and 5 by Julian Cheyne (with permission) and all other photos by the author.

The most substantial and sustained contributions to the community planning process were made by Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay and Company Ltd, hereafter P.A. Finlay) and Nikita Romankin (BMA Ltd), who often spoke on behalf of the local economy as a whole, for example, in being called upon to speak about the issues facing local businesses, introduce the local economy proposals of the community plan or attend meetings with LLDC planning officers.<sup>180</sup> Six other businesses attended at least one community planning meeting (Universal Automobile Engineers, Doran Walk newsagent, Barber's

<sup>180</sup> A2 23/05/13 and 24/09/13.

Shop, Carpenters Arms, Unitas Communications and Carpenters and Docklands Centre). As I will describe, they and others provided support and endorsement in several ways. Some Carpenters businesses, for example Stratford Wire Works (SWW), the Builders Arms and IB Medical, did not take part in collective discussions but rather participated individually at a distance through my interviews, visits, emails and phone calls. It was not possible to draw some businesses and organisations into the community planning process: some were concerned about their relationship with LBN and/or other residents' groups which were at the time not collaborating with CARP! on the community planning process and with others I was unable to establish a dialogue or make contact in the time available.

Nick Athienitis (director of P.A. Finlay and Company Ltd) and Yakub Mohamed (known as 'Jack', proprietor of Universal Automobile Engineers) spoke about their experiences at the second community planning workshop in February 2013. Nick explained how being evicted from Marshgate Lane industrial area to Beckton in order to make way for the Olympics - one of an estimated 200 businesses displaced (Raco and Tunney 2010) - had nearly destroyed P.A. Finlay (a family owned construction, refurbishment and maintenance firm founded in the 1960s), reducing turnover from around £8 million to £3 million.<sup>181</sup> The firm's move to new, larger premises in Beckton had coincided with the financial crisis, leaving P.A. Finlay unable to service loans which exceeded the value of the property. The Directors decided to leave Beckton and move to the smaller sites they had retained on Rowse Close and Hutchins Close, bordering the Carpenters Estate, to consolidate and rebuild the business. Jack Mohamed told how his car mechanics business, Universal Automobile Engineers (Stratford High Street), had experienced heavy losses from a dramatic reduction in trade following the removal of industry from the area (including to clear the Olympic site), the ongoing relocation of council tenants from the Carpenters Estate, and the closure of Carpenters Road - formerly a major through-road - to prevent access to the Olympic Park.<sup>182</sup> The testimony of Nick Athienitis and Jack Mohamed at the second community planning workshop demonstrated to residents that their feelings of fear,

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<sup>181</sup> Interview with Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay).

<sup>182</sup> A2 11/02/13.

uncertainty and anger at being ignored and displaced by UCL's plans, as well as previous largely negative experiences of regeneration initiatives, were shared by businesses. Their participation was important in establishing common ground between Carpenters residents and businesses from which new relationships could be built and alternative proposals emerge.

The interviews I carried out with other Carpenters businesses, including Ian Crampton (proprietor of SWW), Seamus Clarke (landlord of the Carpenters Arms pub), Guiseppe (surname unknown, proprietor of the Barber's Shop), and the Doran Walk newsagent revealed similarly negative experiences of the Olympic Games and other development in the area.<sup>183</sup> Ian Crampton explained that SWW, a metal fabrication company located on Rowse Close and established in 1927 by his grandfather, had worked with many companies (e.g. galvanising, powder coating and woodworking) located on Marshgate Lane, building up loyal relationships and reducing costs.<sup>184</sup> After the Marshgate industrial area had been cleared, SWW had to source goods and services from much further afield, which was costly despite Stratford's excellent location and transport links. Guiseppe, who had been cutting the hair of workers in the factories in the area since 1956, was the owner of the last remaining building in his row, built in the 1940s, earning him the nickname, 'last man standing'.<sup>185</sup> He had written to his MP to seek compensation for reported damage to his building from a neighbouring development and loss of earnings during the construction of the Olympic Park and the Games themselves. He received a reply that suggested he improve his competitiveness.<sup>186</sup> The directors of SWW and P.A. Finlay felt that LBN had never taken them seriously as local employers, despite the fact that P.A. Finlay was one of Newham's larger employers, outside major international firms and the public sector.<sup>187</sup> The firms described how LBN had refused to allow firms on Rowse Close to buy the lease of any property on the street and also refused P.A. Finlay permission to develop the sites the company owned in other parts of the Carpenters Estate.<sup>188</sup> Like residents, Carpenters

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<sup>183</sup> Interviews with Guiseppe (Barber's shop), Seamus Clarke (The Carpenters Arms), Anonymous (Doran Walk newsagent), Ian Crampton (Stratford Wire Works) and Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay).

<sup>184</sup> Interview with Ian Crampton (Stratford Wire Works).

<sup>185</sup> Interview with Guiseppe (Barber's Shop).

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> Interviews with Ian Crampton (Stratford Wire Works) and Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay).

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*





*Figure 6.2 The Carpenters Community Plan was exhibited at 'Annex East', an industrial building owned by P.A. Finlay on Hutchins Close during July 2013. The 'local economy' proposals can be seen on the wall on the left hand side. Nick Athienitis (director of P.A. Finlay) is also seen on the left and Alexandre Vveme (director of BMA Ltd) on the right. After the exhibition, the Carpenters Community plan group met with LLDC officials and the first meeting of the Carpenters business forum took place. Source: the author.*

firms felt ignored and unwanted by LBN and UCL and uncertain about their future in the area.<sup>189</sup>

Several other Carpenters businesses took part in the community planning process in different ways. These roles and contributions were decided by and acted upon by each business on an individual basis. For example, Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre), Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay) and Seamus Clarke (The Carpenters Arms pub) offered space for meetings and events, while the Doran Walk newsagent acted as a drop-off point for completed consultation response forms from residents and businesses.<sup>190</sup> Many businesses formally endorsed the community plan when it was exhibited, specifically P.A. Finlay, BMA Ltd, Universal Automobile Engineers, Doran Walk

<sup>189</sup> Interviews with Ian Crampton (Stratford Wire Works) and Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay); A2 11/02/13.

<sup>190</sup> RD 02/05/13, 21/06/13 and 10/07/13.

newsagent, Stratford Wire Works, Unitas Communications, Carpenters Arms, Acme artists studios and the Carpenters and Docklands Centre<sup>191</sup> and several also contributed publicity material, historical and current photographs and quotations for the exhibition itself (Figure 6.2).<sup>192</sup> One member of the group took an LLDC planning officer on a tour of the Carpenters Estate, as a result of which the various unacknowledged and undervalued aspects of the area, including the physical presence of commercial premises, came into view. Through these varied roles and contributions, the local business community gradually mobilised and built connections with local residents through the community planning process.

While Carpenters businesses shared common experiences with residents, they also articulated their own 'business interests' in interviews early on in the community planning process. Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay) said, 'I suppose I'm just being honest about my intentions... they're not completely altruistic... we are business people, you know'.<sup>193</sup> Ben North, manager of the Carpenters and Docklands Centre, made a similar statement, explaining that ultimately they would act in the best interests of the organisation.<sup>194</sup> In fact, however, narrowly defined individual 'business interests' were bound up with a range of other calculations which extended into other parts of life. This was most clearly articulated by Ian Crampton, who explained how his decision not to fight to remain on Rowse Close was tied up with his wish to extract some value from his business while he had the chance, spend more time with his children and his wife and do something different with the rest of his life.<sup>195</sup> His lease from LBN was so restrictive that there was no way to sell it on to anyone else and he no longer felt tied to the area. In this case, then, the individual interests of SWW were in conflict with the wish of Carpenters residents to support Carpenters businesses remaining in the area and, more specifically, retaining and growing industry on Rowse Close.

In other cases, individual 'business interests' were aligned to the shared goals of the Carpenters Community Plan group. For example, the directors of

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<sup>191</sup> A2 06/05/13.

<sup>192</sup> A2 06/05/13 and RD 21/05/13.

<sup>193</sup> Interview with Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay).

<sup>194</sup> Interview with Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre).

<sup>195</sup> Interview with Ian Crampton (Stratford Wire Works).

the two construction firms on Rowse Close, P.A. Finlay and BMA Ltd, expressed an interest in delivering small-scale developments or refurbishment projects on the Carpenters Estate.<sup>196</sup> Nick Athienitis said that, while a small firm like P.A. Finlay would not be able to bid for the kind of wholesale redevelopment of the Carpenters Estate preferred by LBN and offered by UCL, they would be better suited to deliver more incremental improvements, extensions or specific sites within the area.<sup>197</sup> This possibility was consistent with the policies of the community plan – for example, using local firms to refurbish the various parts of the estate, training and employing local people in the process<sup>198</sup> – but also indicated that these firms had an interest in the community plan as developers as well as tenants and leaseholders.

Community planning offered Carpenters businesses a space from which to assert and represent themselves as economic actors with something to contribute to the future of the area, a space which they had only ever occupied temporarily or partially and which remained cut through with their ‘business interests’. The local economy part of the community planning process operated out of this ambiguous zone of multiple, sometimes intersecting, sometimes conflicting interests. One interview with BMA Ltd director, Alexandre Vveme, and his employee, Nikita Romankin, most clearly illustrates the ways businesses themselves negotiated these multiple positions.<sup>199</sup> As Alexandre cycled through different identities - developer, tenant and community planning participant - he generated contradictions that were playfully provocative of new possibilities. He felt that the LBN and UCL approach to wholesale redevelopment would bring improvements that the area needed but recognised that, if the scheme went ahead, he would not be a part of it, saying ‘I don’t fit into this picture... I like the idea [of the UCL proposal], for them, not for me’. On the one hand, if he were the developer, Alexandre Vveme said, he would do the same thing. However, knowing the wish of residents and businesses (including his own) to remain in the area, he also proposed an alternative approach based on refurbishment which he felt might work and in which his firm could play a part.

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<sup>196</sup> Interview with Alexandre Vveme and Nikita Romankin (BMA Ltd) and Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay).

<sup>197</sup> Interview with Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay)

<sup>198</sup> A2 25/03/13.

<sup>199</sup> Interview with Alexandre Vveme and Nikita Romankin (BMA Ltd).



UCL's proposal also motivated Carpenters businesses to explore other ways in which they could mobilise themselves in order to represent their interests. There was initially strong support and interest from both local residents and businesses for forming a Carpenters business forum.<sup>200</sup> Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay) shared his experience of facing displacement from Marshgate Lane for the 2012 Olympic Games, saying how important it had been for businesses to get organised and stand together in negotiations.<sup>201</sup> While my support and engagement work had begun to draw more businesses in to the community planning group and to generate confidence, I felt it was important for collective discussions to take place rather than one-to-one discussions through me.<sup>202</sup> When I was organising the first business meeting in early May, businesses were keen to attend as they were continuing to suffer from the depopulation of the estate and uncertainty about UCL's proposal.<sup>203</sup>

By the time the first meeting of Carpenters businesses occurred in May 2013, UCL and LBN had announced an end to their negotiations (LBN 2013). Nonetheless, the meeting was still well attended by five businesses (P.A. Finlay, BMA Ltd, the Doran Walk newsagent, Universal Automobile Engineers and the Carpenters Arms) and several local residents,<sup>204</sup> making it the largest gathering of local businesses since the community planning process began. All those present wanted to remain involved in the community plan group and several ideas for different ways of organising and representing businesses were discussed. A resident who had already been displaced by the Olympic Games in another part of the LLDC area and a local vicar spoke about the benefits of more collective modes of organising, saying that they felt this would bring local businesses more legitimacy, visibility and power in negotiations.<sup>205</sup> The meeting ended with a strong, positive sense of ongoing business involvement and representation within the community planning group through regular business meetings and the ongoing individual support which I provided.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> A2 11/02/13, 25/03/13 and 02/05/13; RD 20/03/13; interview with Anonymous (Doran Walk newsagent)

<sup>201</sup> A2 11/02/13; RD 20/03/13.

<sup>202</sup> RD 20/03/13, 25/03/13 and 03/09/13.

<sup>203</sup> A2 02/05/13.

<sup>204</sup> RD 24/05/13.

<sup>205</sup> RD 25/05/13.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

The next business meeting, held in July 2013, felt very different. Only three businesses and one resident attended and much of the discussion was focussed on a specific problem which Guiseppe (Barber's Shop) was having in relation to damage to his building from a nearby development.<sup>207</sup> While the meeting had been of some value – for example, attracting some businesses for the first time (Shiraz Ahmad, Unitas Communications), providing advice and support to Guiseppe and enabling the sharing of information about development plans for the area – those present decided that it was not necessary to continue to hold regular meetings.<sup>208</sup> Instead, businesses decided to keep in touch by email and through my engagement work, only arranging meetings if necessary.<sup>209</sup> No further business meetings occurred within the period of my research and involvement with the group but I continued to provide support on a more individual basis, for example, collecting feedback forms on the draft community plan, distributing notes from the business meeting and inviting businesses to the launch of the community plan and to Newham Network meetings to discuss the draft LLDC local plan.<sup>210</sup> By this time, the withdrawal of the threat from UCL had begun to have an impact on the willingness and motivation of Carpenters businesses to mobilise to represent themselves and their interests.

Nonetheless, local businesses were well represented at the launch of the community plan in September 2013 by Guiseppe (Barber's Shop), Seamus Clarke (The Carpenters Arms), Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay) and Nikita Romankin (BMA Ltd). Nick Athienitis introduced the local economy section of the community plan, speaking strongly about his experiences as a local business and re-affirming the common experiences of residents and businesses and the importance of continuing to work together.<sup>211</sup> At this meeting, the Carpenters Community Plan group agreed to work towards establishing a formally constituted and statutory Neighbourhood Forum to progress their aims and it selected a small group, including BMA Ltd and P.A. Finlay, to represent

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<sup>207</sup> RD 02/07/13.

<sup>208</sup> A2 02/07/13 and RD 02/07/13.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> A2 23/08/13; RD 10/07/13 and 03/09/13.

<sup>211</sup> A2 03/09/13 and RD 03/09/13.

them at a meeting with the LLDC to discuss the local plan and the community plan.<sup>212</sup>

After the launch of the community plan, energies became increasingly focussed on resolving complex and long-running conflicts between different groups of residents in order to establish a single neighbourhood forum for the area. The two Carpenters businesses actively participating in the process of forming the Neighbourhood Forum, BMA Ltd and P.A. Finlay, became frustrated at the lack of progress and began to withdraw. I was asked again by the Just Space and LTF organisers to progress the idea of a Carpenters business forum in June 2014, when the Forum began more formally to establish itself. By this time, however, although Nick Athienitis and Nikita Romankin were interested into the idea of a business forum, they said that they would not be able to put much time or energy into it and there was muted interest in the idea from the other businesses I spoke with. One of the Carpenters residents who had been most active in the previous community plan group also told me he was concerned that a specific business forum could risk undermining and fragmenting the fragile alliance that was, finally, beginning to emerge through the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum (GCNF).<sup>213</sup> Not having a specific role in relation to the Forum or access to its decision-making process (Section 4.4.2), I therefore felt unable to progress the business forum further, especially in light of the lack of interest amongst Carpenters businesses.<sup>214</sup> Instead, I focussed on signing up as many businesses as possible to the emerging GCNF as my last effort to mobilise Carpenters businesses. As a result of these efforts, five more businesses joined the Neighbourhood Forum, and I spoke for the first time to several new or previously hard-to-reach businesses, including the Stratford Computer Fair, moo.com (an online business card printer) and several businesses occupying new units along Stratford High Street and Wharton Road.<sup>215</sup>

Ongoing debates about how local businesses might best represent themselves and their interests both within the Carpenters Community Plan

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<sup>212</sup> A2 03/09/13.

<sup>213</sup> A2 18/07/14 and 20/07/14.

<sup>214</sup> A2 18/07/14 and 22/08/14.

<sup>215</sup> A2 08/05/14, 27/05/14, 28/05/14, 30/05/14, 19/06/14 and 18/07/14; RD 28/05/14 and 12/06/14.

group and later the GCNF, as well as more broadly, were not resolved during the period of my research and involvement. Rather, community planning provided a process through which aims and proposals for the future development of the local economy could become associated with the needs, values and aims of local residents, businesses and other local stakeholders. By comparison, LBN's and UCL's plans and proposals had become separated from the present occupants and users of the Carpenters Estate: consultation with residents had been limited to re-housing options while businesses had been ignored entirely. The Carpenters Community Plan group was a partial, unstable and strategic alliance between a subset of residents, businesses and other local stakeholders which, as I show in the rest of this chapter, nonetheless generated new, shared knowledge about the local economy from which proposals for more inclusive local economic development could emerge.

### **6.3 Building shared knowledge about Carpenters' diverse economic assets**

Identifying and mobilising Carpenters businesses to participate in the community planning group gradually built new, shared knowledge about economic activities which had previously been hidden or ignored, changing the ways in which residents, businesses and others related to the local economy in the process. Looking at the business directory, Ben North, the manager of the Carpenters and Docklands Centre, commented that it was amazing to see the diversity of businesses within a small estate.<sup>216</sup> The business directory quickly became a powerful tool for unsettling and challenging LBN's, UCL's and later LLDC's representation of the Carpenters Estate. At the third community planning workshop, I was able to share some provisional figures based on the (incomplete) information I had gathered. I reported that there were at least 13 businesses actively trading within the Carpenters development area, providing jobs for over 220 people.<sup>217</sup> This fact was important, given that UCL had made the case for the socioeconomic benefits of its proposal to local communities mainly with reference to the number of jobs it was estimated to deliver in Newham, specifically 3,300+ jobs once complete and 1,100+ construction jobs

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<sup>216</sup> A2 02/07/13.

<sup>217</sup> A2 25/03/13.

(UCL 2012). The business directory made it possible to challenge the UCL proposal by drawing attention to the businesses and jobs already present on the site, which had not been taken into account, providing a starting point for an alternative, more inclusive growth strategy.

The interviews I conducted with Carpenters businesses generated new narratives about the strengths of the local economy. I collected information about how long businesses had been located in the area, and used this to demonstrate the existence of both long-standing businesses and new arrivals in the area in order to highlight its continuing ability to retain and attract businesses.<sup>218</sup> Nick Athienitis felt that P.A. Finlay was benefitting from Stratford's good transport connections, with staff coming in to the main office to pick up materials and paperwork before going on to jobs all over London, helping the business to recover from the difficulties it had experienced following displacement from Marshgate Lane.<sup>219</sup> BMA Ltd's decision to invest approximately £15,000 in re-fitting the interior of an office and small warehouse on Rowse Close, despite only having the security of a five year lease, also demonstrated confidence in the area as a place to grow their business.<sup>220</sup> The area's ability to attract new firms was affirmed by the discovery of several small businesses operating from small offices in the Carpenters and Docklands Centre and, much later and in spite of the area's uncertain future, moo.com's decision to take out a 10 year lease on a building on Gibbons Road.<sup>221</sup>

In the process of developing the business directory and the Carpenters Community Plan, previously hidden economic activities became visible. A particularly important moment came when I discovered that two inconspicuous looking buildings on Rowse Close housed 40 artists' studios and that the Carpenters and Docklands Centre included low-cost office space rented out to small businesses and start-ups.<sup>222</sup> Talking with the manager of the Carpenters and Docklands Centre, we began to reconceptualise the low-cost office space it provided<sup>223</sup> and it was only in the course of our discussion that it became

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<sup>218</sup> A2 25/03/13.

<sup>219</sup> Interview with Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay).

<sup>220</sup> Interview with Alexandre Vveme and Nikita Romankin (BMA Ltd).

<sup>221</sup> Interviews with Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre) and Andy Whale (moo.com).

<sup>222</sup> Interview with Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre).

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*

apparent that a number of the firms occupying the Centre's office space in recent years had been social enterprises, for example, an organisation running football training sessions for homeless people, and that one of the newest companies, IB Medical, providers of medical specialists for legal cases, was a joint venture that had emerged from two other companies based at the Centre.<sup>224</sup>

As I spent more time in the area and became more familiar with the local economy, I was able to identify different elements within it. I described these as 'clusters of economic activity' in order to represent the local economy as clearly as possible in the narratives I was preparing for discussion by the Carpenters Community Plan group. I chose to emphasise those activities which were seen as productive and generative in LBN and later LLDC narratives of economic transformation, namely start-up firms and artists.<sup>225</sup> Having identified three 'clusters', I reorganised the Carpenters business directory under these headings in order to strengthen its representation of the local economy. It was also possible to discuss the characteristics of each cluster, providing further depth and detail to the emerging representation of the local economy. I produced the short, descriptive texts in Box 6.1, drawing on my initial analysis of the interviews and my informal discussions with businesses and trying to present a picture of the strength and diversity of each cluster, whilst also acknowledging where businesses were struggling due to depopulation and/or development in the area.

I tested and further developed this emerging analysis in interviews with individual Carpenters businesses and presented a text for discussion at the third community planning workshop in March 2013. This text provided a starting point for discussing and further developing the proposals for local economic development which had emerged through previous community planning workshops and individual interviews with businesses. A shorter version of the text was included in the Carpenters Community Plan itself (Appendix 1, Part Bi), providing an alternative narrative of the local economy which started by

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<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>225</sup> A2 25/03/13.

recognising its strengths and assets and positioned local businesses as actors in shaping and contributing to the future of the area.

*Start-up enterprises within the Carpenters and Docklands Centre*

The Carpenters and Docklands Centre on Gibbons Road provides low-cost and short-term let small office space which is proving to be popular amongst start-up companies, and has even led to a new start-up (Unitas Risk) being launched as a collaboration amongst a number of entrepreneurs who were running other businesses at the Centre already. Current occupants of the office space include IB Medical; Unitas Communications; Unitas Risk and SellThatMotor. LB Newham's Carpenters regeneration resident liaison team are also based at the Centre. Former Centre office tenants have included socially-oriented enterprises such as One Netball (a social sport organization) and Street League (a start up charity), as well as other first-time start-up companies which folded (Taxis to the Airport and computer-game designer, N-Star). Every Sunday, the Centre also hosts a very popular Computer Fair. While the Carpenters and Docklands Centre is perhaps better known for its heavily-subsidised playcare services and the wide-ranging activities it hosts and sports facilities it provides, it can be seen that it is also playing a significant role in providing an attractive space and environment for small business development.

*Construction, refurbishment and maintenance, and artists' studios*

The Carpenters area remains home to a number of long-running businesses in the construction, refurbishment and maintenance sector, such as P.A. Finlay and Co. (a family business with more than 30 years in the area) and Stratford Wire Works (a family business initiated in 1927, with more than 40 years in the area). Formerly, these businesses traded with the many and diverse firms in the immediate locality—including those displaced by the Olympic Park—with whom they developed local supply chains. Both firms have done little work in Newham, finding it difficult to access Newham Council's procurement processes, which seem to favour very large and long-term contracts. P.A. Finlay has recovered from a difficult period, in which the business was disturbed and disrupted during a process of displacement and relocation from the Olympic Park to the Beckton industrial estate, and is now consolidated on its original premises in Rowse Close, and looking to grow. Stratford Wire Works has faced a difficult period in the context of declining public sector procurement and tough competition, but continues to operate at a scale which enables four people to be employed. The much younger construction and interior design firm, BMA Ltd, has recently taken up a five-year lease on Rowse Close, joining P.A. Finlay and Stratford Wire Works, and has re-fitted the interior of its office and warehouse. The firm is growing rapidly, and its directors consider Rowse Close an excellent location from which to do so. Together with the ACME artists' studios, located on Rowse Close for some 12 years and the workplace of some 40 artists, P.A. Finlay, Stratford Wire Works and BMA Ltd form a small cluster of construction, refurbishment and artistic activities on Rowse Close. That ACME recently negotiated a new five year lease to retain the Rowse Close building is indicative of its continuing value as relatively low-cost artists' studios.

*Provision of goods and services to local resident and working populations*

A third cluster of economic activities on the Carpenters Estate can be grouped together around the provision of goods and services to local resident and working populations. The combination of the decanting of the resident population of the Carpenters Estate and the displacement of businesses from the Carpenters Road and the Olympic Park over recent years has created a very challenging climate for local businesses such as the newsagent (a family business based on Doran Walk for 26 years), the Carpenters Arms pub on the Carpenters Road (taken on by the present landlord in 2001) and the Builders Arms pub just outside the boundaries of the Carpenters Estate on Stratford High Street. Landlord and owner Kevin successfully fought to protect the Builders Arms from redevelopment before the Olympics by getting it listed as a Place of Interest due to its historic wooden interior. Unfortunately, barber Guiseppe has had less success in securing compensation from Newham Council for the disruption and damage done to his business—present on Stratford High Street just outside the estate for over 50 years—during the construction of the Olympic Park. Universal Automobile Engineers—with 20 years of history in the area—has also been badly affected, due to heavy traffic and road closures during this period, and has received no compensation. They are still operating at a smaller scale than previously, but are now attracting customers from the newer housing estates as well as from the Carpenters Estate. All businesses are also facing difficulties in making basic decisions regarding investment and maintenance, due to the lack of information and clarity regarding the plans for the area. The ongoing closure of the Carpenters Road is also having a severe impact on business at the Carpenters Arms pub, as well as disrupting and delaying the workings of other firms in the area. This cluster of businesses therefore seems to be feeling the brunt of the long-term running-down and depopulation of the Carpenters Estate by Newham Council, with absolutely no compensation, support or basic information being provided. While this may appear a bleak picture, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of businesses remain committed to the area and wish to play a part in its future.

*Box 6.1 Description of the Carpenters local economy prepared for the third Carpenters Community Plan workshop on 25 March 2013 at the Carpenters and Docklands Centre. Source: A3 25/03/13.*

## **6.4 Developing alternative proposals for the ‘healthy growth’ of the local economy**

As the community planning process began to mobilise and develop shared knowledge about previously hidden businesses, it became possible to explore alternative visions and proposals for the future development of the local economy in which the needs, values and aims of residents and businesses were entangled with one another. Participating residents and businesses independently supported each other’s efforts to remain in the local area.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> A2 11/02/13; interviews with Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay), Irfan Kohda and Burhan Zafar (IB Medical), Ian Crampton (Stratford Wire Works), Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre) and Alexandre Vveme and Nikita Romankin (BMA Ltd).



Reversing the depopulation of the Carpenters Estate was chosen by the group as the core policy focus for the local economy section of the community plan as well as for the housing section (LTF 2013a), when it emerged how badly local businesses had been affected. During interviews, the Doran Walk newsagent, Kevin Leach (Builders Arms pub) and Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre) had particularly strongly emphasised the importance of the local residential population to their purpose and identity.<sup>227</sup> The local economy section (Appendix 1, Part Bi) also included other proposals from business which they felt would reverse some of the damage done by the Olympic Games, for example re-opening Carpenters Road as soon as possible and addressing poor security, cleanliness and maintenance, which had lapsed since the Olympics.<sup>228</sup> Including these proposals in the community plan helped to highlight that the decline of some parts of the local economy, being a consequence of previous plans, development and regeneration schemes rather than a natural or inevitable process of economic change, could be reversed were a different approach adopted.

As businesses began to participate in the community planning process, both through collective discussions and individual interviews, it became possible to further develop and extend residents' initial proposals in dialogue with the values and experiences of businesses. For instance, at the first community planning workshop in November 2012, residents had said that they wanted to see improved links between local education, training and jobs, especially with the University of East London and the Building Crafts College, located on the edge of and within the Carpenters Estate respectively.<sup>229</sup> Residents later discussed this proposal with Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay) at the second workshop in February 2013. He explained that his company had contacted local schools and colleges in order to offer work experience, apprenticeships and jobs to local young people but had received a poor response.<sup>230</sup> In another interview, Kevin Leach (Builders Arms), also spoke with pride about training and employing local young people as well as the way in which contractors and

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<sup>227</sup> Interviews with Anonymous (Doran Walk newsagent), Kevin Leach (The Builders Arms) and Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre).

<sup>228</sup> Interviews with Seamus Clarke (The Carpenters Arms), Calum Kerr and Arantxa Echarte (Acme Artists Studios) and Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre).

<sup>229</sup> A2 11/02/13.

<sup>230</sup> A2 11/02/13; interview with Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay).

labourers used the pub as a place to find and gain casual construction work.<sup>231</sup> The importance these local firms placed on local training and employment fed into the community plan, adding more weight to the initial proposal of residents and generating the additional idea of a joined-up work placement scheme.<sup>232</sup> On other occasions, local businesses made new proposals in interviews which residents then agreed at workshops to include in the community plan. For example, two small businesses based at the Carpenters and Docklands Centre, IB Medical and Unitas Communications, suggested that the community plan should retain and expand low-cost workspace for young people to try out ideas and to improve access to start-up funding and business advice.<sup>233</sup> Residents supported this proposal because it was consistent with their desire to improve employment opportunities for young people and their feeling that too much industry, which had previously provided job opportunities for them, had been lost.<sup>234</sup> Similarly, the desire of businesses to win more contracts from LBN, and their difficulties in doing so, prompted the inclusion of a new proposal to prioritise local procurement and deliver local jobs, including potentially using existing local construction firms to refurbish homes on the Carpenters Estate.<sup>235</sup> These proposals connected the needs and aims of residents with the existing local economy, writing both local residents and businesses into rather than out of processes of change and development.

At the second community planning workshop, residents discussed whether the community plan should propose economic growth. Participants felt that the community plan would need to offer the prospect of jobs growth, both to counter UCL's proposal and because of the wish of to see more jobs for local people.<sup>236</sup> Their discussion focussed on how this jobs growth could benefit local residents, including drawing from the experiences and suggestions of local businesses, as described above. When preparing a new draft of the community plan for the third workshop, Richard Lee (Just Space) and I discussed how far the community plan should go towards proposing growth in light of the interviews I had undertaken with local businesses. I felt it was important for the

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<sup>231</sup> Interview with Kevin Leach (The Builders Arms).

<sup>232</sup> A2 11/02/13.

<sup>233</sup> Interviews with Shiraz Ahmad (Unitas Communications) and Irfan Kohda and Burhan Zafar (IB Medical).

<sup>234</sup> A2 25/03/13.

<sup>235</sup> Interview with Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay); A2 11/02/13.

<sup>236</sup> A2 11/02/13.

plan to propose growth, if it was to be taken seriously as an alternative to UCL's proposal, but was also concerned that doing so could prematurely and needlessly 'raise questions which could be divisive', for instance, 'to create workshop space, would you need to demolish some housing?'<sup>237</sup> Unable to resolve the issue, Richard Lee decided to put the question of whether to propose growth to local residents at the third workshop.

When asked whether they wanted more businesses in the area or just to retain and build on the existing businesses, participating local residents said that they would like to see 'healthy growth' of local businesses.<sup>238</sup> By this, they explained, they meant growth connected with what was presently in the area - which they felt to be natural, healthy and gradual - as opposed to the jobs growth proposed by UCL, which relied on the obliteration of the area as presently existed and thus felt unnatural and discontinuous.<sup>239</sup> One resident expressed interest in learning more about how local businesses worked and was keen to see more networking amongst businesses and between residents and businesses. The group also discussed again how local residents could benefit from 'healthy growth'. Building on this discussion, Sharon Hayward (LTF) suggested that residents were well-placed to rebuild the close relationships between the Carpenters Estate and surrounding employers that had existed in the past, the estate having been built to house the workers from nearby factories. Through these discussions, local residents shaped and claimed their own vision of economic growth, becoming more confident that they could propose and progress an alternative form of development from which they would benefit as well as make a contribution to the wider area.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> RD 20/05/13.

<sup>238</sup> A2 25/03/13.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>240</sup> It was agreed at the second workshop that the question of growth would be included within the forthcoming exhibition and consultation on the community plan, in order to continue to develop the discussion. While fewer local residents had commented on the local economy proposals than on the other sections of the community plan (A2 03/09/13; see also LTF 2013b), there appeared to be support from residents for the kind of change and development of the local economy summed up by the phrase, 'healthy growth'. However, in the final version of the community plan, the notion of 'healthy growth' appears only in the detailed policies at the end of the community plan, not in the core text. Subsequent discussions with Richard Lee (Just Space) and Sharon Hayward (LTF) in the process of finalising this chapter suggest that this reflected the process of developing the community plan text, rather than a deliberate decision to omit the proposal or a drafting error. Strategic text drafted early in the community planning process was not updated in light of later, more detailed discussions.

The residents' vision of healthy growth of local businesses positioned existing businesses as agents of change and development that would become increasingly closely connected with local resident populations over time. The businesses I interviewed recognised and valued the locational benefits of the area to others and wanted to continue to benefit from these rather than vacate their sites so that others could do so. Some, however, were sceptical about the prospects of an incremental approach to development that enabled existing sectors to expand. Nick Athieintis (P.A. Finlay) and Ian Crampton (SWW) felt that more noisy, dirty industry would not necessarily be compatible with the surrounding housing and offices.<sup>241</sup> Nick Athieintis and Alexandre Vveme (BMA Ltd) also had concerns that a more incremental, bottom-up approach to development focussed on growing existing sectors would not necessarily be viable.<sup>242</sup> Yet this cautiousness contradicted their own experiences, at least in part: Nick Athieintis had previously submitted his own, small scale, development plans for the land he owned in the area and said that P.A. Finlay was quiet, clean and received no complaints, telling residents, 'probably, you don't even know that we are here!'.<sup>243</sup> Similarly, Ian Crampton had also been critical of the loss of industry and the focus on sectors which he felt only benefitted an elite, leaving few options for people with technical skills and vocational education.<sup>244</sup> While local residents affirmed their support for healthy growth of local businesses in order to generate more local jobs and local businesses (generally) stated their wish to remain in the area and (in some cases) expand, some local businesses also expressed scepticism about the long-term prospects of the area's existing economic activities.

The interviews and engagement work I had undertaken with businesses meant that over time their views and experiences came to dominate those of residents in the local economy section of the draft Carpenters Community Plan.<sup>245</sup> This emphasis was corrected during the consultation and exhibition of the draft community plan during the summer of 2013 (Figure 6.2), which generated responses from 157 households from the Carpenters Estate and 15

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<sup>241</sup> Interviews with Nick Athieintis (P.A. Finlay) and Ian Crampton (Stratford Wire Works).

<sup>242</sup> Interviews with Nick Athieintis (P.A. Finlay) and Alexandre Vveme and Nikita Romankin (BMA Ltd).

<sup>243</sup> Interview with Nick Athieintis (P.A. Finlay); A2 03/09/13.

<sup>244</sup> Interview with Ian Crampton (Stratford Wire Works).

<sup>245</sup> A2 03/09/13.

businesses (LTF 2013b). At the launch of the community plan in September 2013, the LTF and Just Space coordinators proposed a series of small changes to the draft plan in light of these responses, which had been analysed in a report prepared by LTF (2013b; I provided input on the responses of local businesses). On the local economy proposals, respondents had wanted to see more emphasis on local jobs, for example, requesting more workspaces for skilled trades and manufacturing and more jobs, work placements, training and good pay for local people.<sup>246</sup> The group agreed to add these points, re-balancing the final version of the community plan in relation to the needs and interests of residents and businesses.

## **6.5 Challenging the emerging LLDC local plan**

The creation of the LLDC presented Carpenters residents and businesses with a changed institutional landscape in which to mobilise and put their shared knowledge and alternative proposals into action, including with other groups from elsewhere in the LLDC territory through the Newham Network. Both the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network discussed whether the shift in responsibility for planning functions from local authorities to the LLDC represented an opening for them to pursue their aims.<sup>247</sup> Some people felt there would be little shift from LBN's approach, and raised concerns that participating in the LLDC consultation would be a waste of energy and resources and risked legitimising the process.<sup>248</sup> Others felt that the LLDC's emphasis on securing a legacy from the Olympic Games for East London meant that it would have to take the concerns of existing residents, businesses and other groups more seriously than LBN had.<sup>249</sup> Leaving a 'legacy' for this historically deprived area had been at the heart of London's bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games and was embedded within the various 'convergence' frameworks developed and organisations set up to deliver the Games and oversee subsequent physical and social development of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and surrounding areas, including the LLDC (Growth Boroughs

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<sup>246</sup> A2 03/09/13; see also LTF 2013b.

<sup>247</sup> A2 29/08/13, 24/09/13 and 16/01/14.

<sup>248</sup> A2 29/08/13 and 16/01/14.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*

2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015, Host Boroughs 2009, LLDC 2012).<sup>250</sup> When the Newham Network met in January 2014 to discuss the first draft of the LLDC plan (LLDC 2013), the group decided to participate in the consultation process in order to make their voices heard in a process that was not designed for them and to hold the LLDC to account.<sup>251</sup> They concluded they would use the consultation process to both challenge the vision of the draft plan *and* to press for co-production and community planning or, as one resident put it, ‘we don’t want your vision. We want a community plan’.<sup>252</sup>

LLDC planning officials met the Carpenters Community Plan group for the first time in May 2013. Here, as in other meetings, the group made strategic use of business involvement in order to demonstrate broad local participation and support and to reconfigure relationships with the LLDC after CARP!’s long battle with LBN.<sup>253</sup> For businesses too, these meetings offered an opportunity to make themselves more visible and to attempt to re-insert themselves into debates about the future of the Carpenters Estate. At the first meeting with the LLDC, Nick Athienitis (P.A. Finlay) asked how local businesses could be incorporated within the local plan rather than being forced out through new development, explaining how badly his company had been damaged when relocated from the Olympic Park site.<sup>254</sup> In this meeting and others, however, officials responded that concerns about the treatment of existing businesses were too detailed or prescriptive for a local plan: planning was a ‘blunt tool’ that couldn’t ‘drill down’ into the details of employment sites. This response was (unsuccessfully) challenged through the LLDC local plan process by the Newham Network.<sup>255</sup> LLDC officials seemed more open to exploring the scope for co-producing elements of the plan, however, and went on to support the group and others in developing the GCNF.<sup>256</sup> In the remainder of this chapter, however, my focus is on the Newham Network’s engagement with the LLDC local plan itself, the process of forming the GCNF itself being outside the scope of this thesis.

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<sup>250</sup> Interviews with Anonymous 5, Paul Brickell, Andrew Mawson and Paolo Nistri (LLDC).

<sup>251</sup> A2 16/01/14.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>253</sup> RD 20/03/13 and 23/05/13; A2 23/05/13 and 24/09/13.

<sup>254</sup> A2 23/05/13.

<sup>255</sup> A2 23/05/13 and 29/08/13.

<sup>256</sup> A2 08/05/13, 24/05/13 and 22/07/14; Interview with Anonymous 5 (LLDC).

Initially, Carpenters businesses did not participate in the meetings held by the Newham Network to discuss the draft LLDC local plan and to develop consultation responses. Nonetheless, the participation of several Carpenters residents as well as the support provided by Just Space, LTF and myself ensured the Newham Network's response to the consultation on the first draft LLDC local plan proposed amendments in line with the Carpenters Community Plan.<sup>257</sup> Later, after the second draft LLDC local plan (LLDC 2014) was published, the director of SWW and several artists from the Acme Rowse Close studios participated in Newham Network workshops.<sup>258</sup> These developments felt like major steps forward as, while I had spoken many times to Ian Crampton (SWW), he had never attended a meeting on the Carpenters Community Plan or the emerging Neighbourhood Forum. Similarly, while I had met Acme Artists Studios staff members who had agreed to circulate details of meetings to artists based at their Rowse Close studios, I had not been able to establish a dialogue with anyone there. The Newham Network provided an opportunity for these Carpenters firms and artists to strategically connect with others across the LLDC, importantly in Hackney Wick and Fish Island.<sup>259</sup> Here, the LLDC was much more proactively and carefully working with existing businesses and artists to attempt to minimise the risks of displacement. By comparison, the LLDC was not actively engaged with or even aware of the economic actors presently based on the Carpenters Estate.<sup>260</sup>

It became increasingly clear, however, that the LLDC was constrained by LBN when it came to the Carpenters Estate. Each local authority from which the LLDC took over powers and functions was represented on the LLDC board, making it difficult to proceed without their agreement.<sup>261</sup> In the case of the Carpenters Estate, LBN was in a particularly powerful position as majority landowner, leaving the LLDC in the position of a conventional local planning authority, providing the local planning context against which the borough's development plans would be assessed. In other areas, the LLDC had much more control, being both landowner and planning authority, as in the case of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park itself, or was working in close collaboration with

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<sup>257</sup> A2 16/01/14 and 14/02/14.

<sup>258</sup> A2 29/09/14 and 06/10/14; RD 02/10/14.

<sup>259</sup> A2 29/09/14 and RD 02/10/14.

<sup>260</sup> Interviews with Paul Brickell and Paolo Nistri (LLDC).

<sup>261</sup> Interview with Neale Coleman (LLDC and Mayoral Advisor on Tottenham).

the local authority, as in the case of the Hackney Wick master plan, or with private landowners, as in the case of Bromley by Bow.<sup>262</sup> The LLDC was limited to replicating the approach of LBN's previous local plan in relation to the Carpenters Estate while waiting for the borough to bring forward a new master plan.<sup>263</sup> This delay and lack of influence was a source of frustration to those I spoke with – as the Executive Director of Regeneration and Community Partnerships said, 'it's very important that you know Newham gets its act together and firms up some plans and sees it through'.<sup>264</sup> LBN, however, had put the Carpenters master planning exercise on hold; public spending cuts meant that the officials who had been working on this had left or were about to leave the council and were not being replaced, leaving the master planning exercise hanging.<sup>265</sup> While LLDC officials were very willing to meet Carpenters residents and businesses and to support their work to develop a Neighbourhood Forum, the interviews I conducted conveyed that they had little flexibility to deviate from the approach of the landowner LBN.

At the EiP on the LLDC local plan in March 2015, several Carpenters residents gave evidence, as did one of the tenants of Acme Rowse Close artists studios, the local vicar, the director of the Carpenters and Docklands Centre, representatives from Just Space, LTF and What If?, another organisation working with the GCNF at the time.<sup>266</sup> Hearing the concerns raised in the consultation, the Planning Inspector had included a question on whether the Greater Carpenters site allocation should be amended in line with the Carpenters Community Plan to 'confirm that it supports sensitive refurbishment, building on existing homes, businesses and community infrastructure, with active community involvement' (LLDC 2015a np). On the topic of local economy, the Rowse Close artist presented evidence which she and others had gathered in support of securing protection for Rowse Close as a light-industrial employment site, stating that 53 artists worked from this location and were part of the community and providing evidence of demand for studios in the form of

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<sup>262</sup> Interviews with Paul Brickell and Anonymous 5 (LLDC) and Neale Coleman (LLDC and Mayoral Advisor on Tottenham).

<sup>263</sup> Interviews with Paul Brickell (LLDC), Dave Whittaker (LBN) and Neale Coleman (LLDC and Mayoral Advisor on Tottenham).

<sup>264</sup> Interview with Paul Brickell (LLDC).

<sup>265</sup> Interview with Dave Whittaker (LBN).

<sup>266</sup> A2 12/03/15.



the 1000 people on the waiting list for one of Acme's artists studios.<sup>267</sup> In her evidence, Lorraine Cavanagh, director of the Carpenters and Docklands Centre, highlighted its contribution in helping 280 people back to work through its low-cost play care scheme, subsidised by income from hire of facilities and rent of office space.<sup>268</sup> As no Carpenters businesses were able to or felt confident enough to participate, I was asked by LTF to speak on behalf of the local businesses. I drew on the interviews I had conducted, the analysis I had developed of the local economy and my critical engagement with the local economy study underpinning the LLDC local plan to argue for the recognition of existing local businesses, make the case for protecting employment sites and the need to ensure benefits for existing residents and businesses in light of the LLDC's legacy and convergence objectives.

Initially, the LBN representative re-stated that the council's policy position had already been accepted and finalised through the correct planning and regeneration processes and therefore had been correctly inserted into the LLDC local plan.<sup>269</sup> The Planning Inspector, however, appeared to have taken the concerns of residents, tenants of Rowse Close artists studios and others, seriously. She acknowledged that it was an 'emotive issue', pushed both LBN and LLDC to justify their approach and asked them whether they would be minded to make any changes, including specifying refurbishment as an acceptable option.<sup>270</sup> After conferring with LBN, the LLDC planning officer stated that 'it would be too controversial' to deviate from LBN's position, that they had gone through a solid review process and were not minded to make changes at this point.<sup>271</sup> Unfortunately, the minor modifications the Planning Inspector ultimately proposed in her report to the LLDC fell well short of what Carpenters residents and businesses had hoped to secure. Rather than policy support for refurbishment for the whole estate, she suggested only making clear that development of the Carpenters Estate should 'give due consideration to retaining low-rise family housing where possible' and to make explicit the need for early community consultation and support for 'the principle of Neighbourhood Planning' (The Planning Inspectorate 2015 p3). Proposals to

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<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>268</sup> A2 12/03/15; interview with Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre).

<sup>269</sup> A2 12/03/15.

<sup>270</sup> A2 12/03/15.

<sup>271</sup> A2 12/03/15.

protect employment sites on the Carpenters Estate were also rejected. The final site allocation included in the LLDC local plan was in line with these recommendations, providing a framework for ‘extensive mixed-use redevelopment’ which prioritised optimising residential capacity while also stressing early community consultation, support for the preparation of a neighbourhood plan and the option of retaining low-rise family housing (LLDC 2015b pp205-206). While Carpenters residents and businesses were therefore only able to secure limited policy support for their own vision and proposals through the LLDC local plan process, as I show in the remainder of this chapter, it also mobilised other marginalised and excluded economic actors from elsewhere in the LLDC territory to insert themselves into strategic planning debates.

#### *6.5.1 Mobilising diverse economic actors across the LLDC area*

Over time, the Newham Network began to mobilise and support diverse economic actors from across the LLDC territory to engage in political debate about the future of the local economy and their place in it. The LLDC’s neglect of existing businesses had been a major concern for the Newham Network from the beginning. In August 2013, the LLDC planning officer gave a presentation to the network before the first draft plan was published, in which the focus was overwhelmingly on the jobs and homes that would be delivered through major development schemes which already had planning permission.<sup>272</sup> In discussion, the representatives of tenants’ and other local groups expressed their concern at the lack of consideration of existing employment land uses.<sup>273</sup> One local resident criticised the LLDC for perpetuating the myth that the area had been an empty wasteland before the Olympic Games when in fact, he claimed, 5000 local jobs had disappeared through deliberate strategies of deindustrialisation.<sup>274</sup>

After the first Newham Network meeting, a former resident of the Clays Lane Estate (demolished to make way for the Olympic Games), who had been an active supporter of the Carpenters Community Plan, helped me to make

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<sup>272</sup> A2 29/08/13.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid*

contact with campaigning groups with an interest in industrial land and low-cost workspace in Hackney Wick and Fish Island, including Affordable Wick and the Cultural Interest Group (CIG).<sup>275</sup> A meeting of the Hackney Network (see Section 4.4.2) provided further opportunities to connect with Affordable Wick and the East End Trades Guild, and draw them into the Newham Network's meetings and workshops on the emerging LLDC local plan.<sup>276</sup> Several businesses (e.g. SWW and Plot London (a small design consultancy based in Hackney Wick)) and community enterprise organisations, specifically the Bromley by Bow Centre and Community Links, then participated in an economy workshop on the second draft of the LLDC local plan which I facilitated within a larger Newham Network event organised by Just Space and LTF in September 2014.<sup>277</sup> Several local artists' studios providers, specifically Space Studios, Stour Space and Mother Studios, as well as artists from Acme's Rowse Close studios on the Carpenters Estate, joined the Newham Network's discussions in February 2015, attracted by the opportunity of participating in the EiP the following month. Between August 2013 and March 2015, around 13 businesses, business groups, community enterprise organisations, artists' studios providers, individual artists and community groups concerned with industrial workspace participated in the Newham Network.

The process of mobilising diverse economic actors in this case was very different to the Carpenters Community Plan group. Carpenters businesses had been mobilised by the specific, uniting threat of the UCL proposal. The urgency of this threat meant that the Carpenters Community Plan process was extremely quick and efficient, mobilising businesses, sharing knowledge, developing alternative proposals and consulting, revising and launching the community plan in under a year. By comparison, the Newham Network's meetings and events were spread out over a much longer period, and were more broadly focused on the aims of the broader LTF and Just Space Trust for London project, of which they were a part (see Chapter 4). In addition, while my business support role and action-oriented interviews had helped Carpenters businesses to participate in the community planning process, whether through collective discussions or at more of a distance, I had insufficient time and

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<sup>275</sup> A2 26/08/13 and 24/09/13.

<sup>276</sup> A2 24/03/14.

<sup>277</sup> A2 22/09/14 and 29/09/14.

resources to undertake similar organisational work across the LLDC area as a whole. In the end, however, the opportunity to participate in the LLDC local plan consultation and EiP process made it possible for the Newham Network to mobilise diverse economic actors, develop shared knowledge and propositions for alternative, more inclusive economic development, albeit in more modest ways and more fleeting moments than in the case of the Carpenters Community Plan group.

As more businesses and organisations began to participate in the Newham Network's discussions of the economic aspects of the emerging LLDC local plan, it became clear that despite improvements in the evidence base (see Section 6.5.3), the LLDC's local plan did not treat existing businesses as local economic actors with something to contribute to the future of the area. SWW and Plot London confirmed that they had been surveyed for a quantitative study (URS and Marko and Placemakers Ltd 2014) but had not been informed when the new draft of the local plan was published nor been involved in any way in its preparation.<sup>278</sup> Even the Hackney Wick and Fish Island CIG and Affordable Wick depended heavily on the information, resources and support available through the Newham Network. Despite their much closer dialogue with the LLDC, they appeared to be no better informed nor involved in the local plan than other businesses and organisations. The Newham Network therefore pushed the LLDC to listen to the views of the existing and surrounding residential and business community and to include their own ideas and plans for the future of the area.<sup>279</sup>

Participating in the consultation and EiP on the LLDC local plan, with the support of the Newham Network, opened up a terrain of political debate previously unavailable to local businesses. The scope for debate at the EiP was considerably broader than JSEP experienced in relation to the FALP (Chapter 5), both because the entire plan was under examination, rather than only alterations, and because the Planning Inspector defined matters for debate which directly responded to the issues raised by respondents. The Inspector allocated a full day in her Examination Programme to debate the 'Business

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<sup>278</sup> A2 29/09/14.

<sup>279</sup> A2 06/02/16 and 02/10/14.

Growth, Jobs and Lifelong Learning’ chapter of the second draft local plan (LLDC 2014) on 4 March 2015, identifying 21 questions for discussion, several of which directly responded to the Newham Network’s concerns (LLDC 2015a). The diverse economic actors mobilised through the Newham Network were therefore able to make their claims for recognition and inclusion directly to LLDC officials and the Planning Inspector at the EiP itself. The artists from the Acme Rowse Close studios simply asked the LLDC to ‘recognise that we are here’.<sup>280</sup> While the quantitative and qualitative surveys carried out as part of the economic evidence base underpinning the plan (URS and Marko and Placemakers 2014, We Made That 2014) had asked about their businesses, the Newham Network enabled participants to talk about their views, values and aspirations. Importantly, as the next two sub-sections reveal, the EiP provided local economic actors with an opportunity to articulate their experiences and concerns in dialogue with and relation to others, moving beyond their individual business or organisation to think about the local economy more broadly.

#### *6.5.2 Developing shared knowledge about industrial displacement*

The Newham Network was concerned that the LLDC was biased against ‘dirty’ industries and questioned the limited role and low value it ascribed to industrial activities.<sup>281</sup> Despite the evidence for the strength of industrial activities across a range of emerging and more established sectors provided by the LLDC’s own quantitative and qualitative studies (URS and Marko and Placemakers Ltd 2014, We Made That 2014), the employment land review continued to assume that ‘the historical decline in industrial occupations and land will continue’ (URS 2014 p9). To challenge this approach, the Newham Network gathered examples and evidence about the extent of recent commercial displacement, iteratively developing its shared knowledge as the consultation and EiP process progressed, mobilising more businesses and organisations to participate.

The Network challenged the idea that deindustrialisation was a natural and inevitable economic transformation, seeing it instead as the product of deliberate strategy and policies. At the local economy workshop on the second

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<sup>280</sup> A2 04/03/15.

<sup>281</sup> A2 16/01/14.

draft plan, a representative of the E20 Fishing Club argued that the large number of artists using the low-cost workspace available in Fish Island were being pushed out by rising rents day by day. SWW and Plot London also spoke about the shortage of low-cost, flexible spaces needed by both traditional and new hybrid industries, which would prevent displaced businesses returning to new developments even if they had the right to, as one resident proposed. In its consultation responses (an extract from the response to the second draft plan is at Appendix 1, Part Bii), the Newham Network pushed the LLDC to account for jobs lost through development schemes as well as jobs gained.<sup>282</sup> I added references to academic studies that supported the Network's concerns (Ferm 2014a, Raco and Tunney 2010).

Should the Local Plan give more in-depth information about the economic impact of the Games, including the effect on local communities and businesses? In addition to benefits, should perceived, recent difficulties associated with the Games – disruption to some businesses and loss of local jobs - be acknowledged?

*Box 6.2 The Planning Inspector's question on the impact of the Olympic Games on existing local businesses, for debate at the EiP on the LLDC local plan in March 2015. Source: LLDC (2015a np).*

When the Planning Inspector responded to these concerns by including a question on whether displacement and disruption through new development should be acknowledged in the local plan (Box 6.2), the Newham Network was motivated to gather considerably more evidence to support its concerns when it met to prepare for the EiP in February 2015. By this time, a much wider range of businesses and other organisations had joined its discussions, producing ten specific examples of displacement, disruption and disadvantage of local businesses through the Olympic Games (Box 6.3). Ben North (Carpenters and Docklands Centre) provided further evidence at the EiP, stating that the Centre had experienced reduced bookings during the Games and that the Stratford Computer Fair, held every weekend at the centre, had also experienced a downturn.<sup>283</sup> He disputed the plan's claim that '[t]he results of investment [into the local economy] are already being seen' (LLDC 2014 p19), arguing that plans should encourage, not hinder, the growth of existing organisations.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> A2 16/01/14 and 29/09/14.

<sup>283</sup> A2 04/03/15.

<sup>284</sup> A2 04/03/15.

- A Freedom of Information request regarding what happened to local businesses indicates that 5000 jobs were lost when businesses were cleared to make way for the construction of the Olympic Park.
- Businesses interviewed by UCL students in Hackney Wick and Fish Island and the Greater Carpenters area reported that they weren't able to access contracts and supply chains relating to the Olympics because they were too small and the tendering process was very complex and difficult to access.
- Tenants in Stratford Workshops also report a very complicated and time consuming process, which made the Olympic Games bidding process too expensive to participate in.
- Local food suppliers e.g. Spitalfields Market were not used to supply the catering outlets during the Olympic Games.
- Local shops and businesses on the Carpenters Estate also reported a major fall in trade in the run up to, during and after the Olympics
- Stour Space report very little footfall in Hackney Wick during the Games, despite having expected an increase in business during that period.
- A local screen printer in Hackney Wick, which had delivered orders for Live Aid, the Who and Rolling Stones missed out on a contract for printing t-shirts for the Olympic Games. The contract went to China instead.
- A market was set up in Leyton, anticipating lots of passing customers during the Olympic Games. It had to shut down as no-one came.
- Local shops lost customers when Clays Lane estate was demolished for the Olympic Games.
- Construction workers on the Olympic Park were prevented from bringing in food bought outside the Park, cutting off the custom for surrounding shops.

*Box 6.3 Examples of displacement, disruption and disadvantage experienced by existing local businesses through the Olympic Games, gathered together by the Newham Network in its response to the second draft LLDC local plan. Source: A2 06/02/15.*

Speaking on behalf of the East End Trades Guild, Lucy Rogers claimed the local plan was biased against industry and displayed a lack of understanding about the sector. Drawing on my experiences in supporting JSEP in the FALP the previous year (Chapter 5), I assembled facts from the evidence base which supported this view and inserted these into the debate to back up the points made by Newham Network participants, citing, for example, that despite industrial losses, industrial occupations remained a strong driver of the local economy, that 43 per cent of the workforce was local, that vacancy rates for industrial land were very low at just two per cent and URS' stated acknowledgement that '[m]uch of the loss of industrial and warehousing land [between 2006 and 2014] can be attributed to the facilities required to host the Olympic and Paralympic Games' (URS 2014 p35).

Neither the LLDC nor the Planning Inspector was ultimately convinced that any changes were needed to recognise the negative impact of the Games

and other recent developments.<sup>285</sup> Summing up her findings, the Planning Inspector suggested that the new developments in Stratford and at the Olympic Park meant that the plan did not need to include information about the jobs lost and businesses harmed or unable to benefit from new developments, despite acknowledging that evidence had been provided that this had indeed occurred. When Eileen Conn (Peckham Vision) raised the issue of business displacement through redevelopment at the FALP EiP, she was told by the Planning Inspector that this was an issue for the boroughs (Chapter 5). The experiences of the Newham Network suggests, however, that there is a need for further mobilisation at both local and metropolitan level in support of a proposal that plans should account for jobs lost as well as gained through redevelopment schemes. Such an assessment would provide a starting point for thinking about what is gained and lost through new development, opening up debate about alternative strategies.

### *6.5.3 Using legacy and convergence objectives to extend and advance a vision of “healthy growth” across the LLDC area*

The Newham Network attempted to re-position existing businesses across the whole LLDC area as a source of strength and future growth, rather than the passive losers of inevitable processes of deindustrialisation.<sup>286</sup> Strategically positioning its concerns in consultation responses, the Newham Network suggested that growth of the existing economy was an alternative or additional route to securing the LLDC’s legacy and convergence goals.<sup>287</sup> These arguments moved beyond protecting existing businesses for their own sake to set out how industrial workspaces were related to a broad range of social and economic goals. Retaining industrial land was the main element within the Newham Network’s vision of more inclusive economic development, which also included strong targets for new jobs, training and education for local residents and a proposal for encouraging local supply chains.<sup>288</sup> They proposed extending the notion of ‘healthy growth’ which emerged through the Carpenters Community Plan group (Section 6.4) to the whole LLDC area in order to

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<sup>285</sup> A2 04/03/15; see also LLDC 2015c and 2015d and The Planning Inspectorate 2015.

<sup>286</sup> A2 14/02/14.

<sup>287</sup> A2 06/10/14.

<sup>288</sup> A2 16/01/14 and 14/02/14.



connect existing residents and businesses with growth and development. As I discuss in the remainder of this section, while these proposals were overwhelmingly rejected, they resulted in the LLDC introducing some minor changes to the local plan text in order to set out how residents would benefit from new higher education developments.

Residents wanted to see local businesses protected from displacement, not just because they felt they should have the same right as residents to remain in the area but also because they played an important role in providing jobs, goods and services for the local population. Discussing the first draft LLDC local plan, one resident highlighted that if one of the plan's objectives was to increase 'good-quality jobs' (LLDC 2013 p37), which the Newham Network supported, the role of industry in providing good quality jobs for local residents should be recognised.<sup>289</sup> Taking up this suggestion, the Newham Network began to build a new narrative of the LLDC's industrial land, which framed it as an asset to be retained and supported (Box 6.4).

<p><u>Objective 2 Jobs</u> – We welcome the emphasis on good-quality jobs, easily accessible for local residents. In order to achieve this, however, Section 4 will need revising significantly... in particular to recognise that many existing local businesses are already a source of good-quality jobs accessible for local residents. A definition of good-quality jobs should be included. We are currently concerned that the potential for the manufacturing, light industry and distribution sectors to provide quality jobs is under-acknowledged.</p>
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*Box 6.4 The Newham Network proposed that the role of existing local businesses in providing good quality jobs should be recognised and further development in its response to the first draft LLDC local plan. Source: A2 14/02/14.*

The LLDC's own quantitative and qualitative studies provided evidence of the strength of industrial activities in the area (URS and Marko and Placemakers 2014, We Made That 2014). Each study used a different methodology and provided a different perspective on the function and potential of industrial land within the LLDC area. For instance, the quantitative survey of 650 businesses (20 per cent of which were also interviewed) was able to identify and describe geographical and sectoral clusters, the different workspace typologies that supported them and occupiers' expectations for the

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<sup>289</sup> A2 16/01/14.

future (URS and Marko and Placemakers 2014). This study revealed an industrial character which, far from being surplus, declining, outdated or extinguished, supported a resilient, diverse, adaptable, growing and locally rooted (43 per cent of the workforce live locally) economy, 'a great location for start-ups and micro-businesses' (p43).

The qualitative survey provided a second perspective on the mismatch between the health of the existing local economy – 'a dynamic and diverse local economy, underpinned by a strong history of enterprise and innovation' - and the threats and uncertainties which existing occupiers faced from development pressures (We Made That 2014 p16). Interviews, drawings and photographs of 15 'exemplary businesses' (*ibid*), selected to capture the diversity of the local economy, gathered new facts such as number of employees, historic and anticipated growth trends, location of customers and suppliers and social, community and place-making roles, as well as revealing the diverse and innovative ways in which industrial workspaces had been adapted for different uses. The study also gathered existing knowledge about emerging employment trends in the area, including small to medium scale food and drink manufacturing, tech and digital enterprise and industrial crafts/small scale manufacturing, further enhancing it through interviews. Finally, by studying in detail a number of cases in which businesses had directly contributed to the character of local areas, the study was able to emphasise the connections between existing local businesses and a range of desirable outcomes that the LLDC was seeking to promote. As a result, the qualitative survey enabled its authors to conclude that the diversity of the existing local economy 'should therefore be supported and built upon' (p121), opening up a space for intervention by the LLDC in order to protect these positive characteristics and contributions from the threat of displacement by development pressures.

The second draft LLDC plan (LLDC 2014) included innovative and unusual attempts to prevent choking off emerging economic and artistic clusters by introducing requirements to re-provide employment floorspace and affordable workspace policies, as well as designating an 'industrial conservation area' in Hackney Wick and Fish Island.<sup>290</sup> LLDC officials reported that proposing

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<sup>290</sup> Interview with Paul Brickell (LLDC); see also LLDC 2014.

these policies had involved actively challenging established planning approaches both within the LLDC and the GLA, for instance by demonstrating market failure in order to justify government intervention, making the case for the future of industrial workspace and demonstrating that commercial workspace developments were viable in areas where planners faced significant pressure to approve applications from landowners for residential developments in employment areas.<sup>291</sup> For the official leading the GLA's new 'Places of Work' programme (Section 3.5), this made the LLDC's employment land policies a source of innovative thinking about affordable workspace for London as a whole, saying, 'these two worlds [industrial and creative sectors] are clashing and pioneering ways of retaining that creative energy'.<sup>292</sup>

For the Newham Network, however, these efforts were not sufficient to protect the area's reservoir of industrial land and low-cost workspace from the pressures of London's housing market. The proposed employment land policy B1 was predicated on the idea that the LLDC had a surplus of industrial land which should be released for other uses, despite contradictory evidence within the studies commissioned by the LLDC. Further release was also permitted beyond the identified 'surplus', 'provided that a suitable quantity of employment space is re-provided within mixed-use developments' (LLDC 2014 p24). The plan also left open the possibility for further release of 'large-format industrial uses that are incompatible with mixed-use development', in which case 'regeneration programmes should aim to facilitate the circumstances which enable valuable businesses to remain in the area' (*ibid*). While the Newham Network recognised that the LLDC had gone further than most local authorities, their consultation response argued that this policy did not 'go far enough to support efforts to retain employment and industrial land'.<sup>293</sup> The Network argued that industrial land designations should be extended and strengthened and that the option to re-provide employment workspace at higher densities should be removed, arguing this would increase development pressure on existing well-used lower density workspace.

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<sup>291</sup> Interviews with Paolo Nistri, Paul Brickell and Anonymous 5 (LLDC) and Neale Coleman (LLDC and Mayoral Advisor on Tottenham).

<sup>292</sup> Interview with Tobias Goevert (GLA).

<sup>293</sup> A2 06/10/14. Full text at Appendix 1 (Part Bii).

While the LLDC had also been innovative in proposing a specific policy to protect and provide 'low-cost and managed workspace', the Newham Network argued for a stronger approach here too. Policy B4 included the statement that '[e]xisting managed and low-cost workspace shall be retained where viable and where it complements wider plans for the area', while also providing a framework for delivery of new low-cost or managed workspace through s106 agreements (LLDC 2014 p 34). In its consultation response, the Newham Network argued that 'far more affordable workspace is lost through development than delivered through section 106 agreements, and that which is delivered is not comparable in terms of affordability or other characteristics', citing research by Ferm (2014a).<sup>294</sup> The Network also argued that the proposed ceiling of '75 per cent of historic market rent for the previous year' for low-cost workspace delivered through s106 agreements should be lowered and that workspace should 'remain low-cost for the long-term, with long-term tenancies'.<sup>295</sup> In relation to both policy B1 and B4, the Newham Network linked its concerns about the loss of existing workspace to the importance of existing industrial firms as a source of decent employment for local people, arguing they should be retained and supported.

The Planning Inspector included four questions which spoke to the Newham Network's concerns for debate at the EiP (questions 8-10 and 19, Box 6.5). The opportunity to speak at the EiP had mobilised an impressive diversity and strength of economic actors with expertise about and experience of the pressure on industrial and low-cost workspace, including Space Studios, Mother Studios, the EETG, Truman's Beer, Plot London, Community Links and a tenant of Acme's Rowse Close studios.<sup>296</sup> Artists and artists' studios providers were well placed to speak about the difficulty of obtaining and retaining long leases of suitable and affordable buildings, the extremely large demand for the studio spaces they could offer and to provide specific suggestions for amendments to the LLDC's definition of low-cost workspace. The case of Truman's Beer, facing displacement from London altogether due to the expiry of their existing lease and difficulty in finding another, powerfully illustrated the Newham Network's argument that the LLDC would lose existing businesses committed to

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<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>296</sup> A2 06/02/15 and 14/03/15.

employing and training local people unless stronger protections were introduced.

7. Is Policy B1 overly concerned with directing new and expanding businesses to the Employment Clusters, Table 2, to maintain their local character, instead of recognising that market forces should prevail? Is there a case for more flexibility over the location and maintenance of employment uses? Is there strong evidence to relax the requirements of Policy B1 5?

8. Is Policy B1 5b) encouraging higher densities outside the clusters and within Other Industrial Locations likely to be detrimental to locally important cultural, artistic, manufacturing and food industries? Could it restrict the growth of activities around new technology more likely to occur in workshops and yards than in B1 office space?

9. It is suggested that local employment land releases have been three times higher than the London Plan foresaw. There is also concern that low value uses providing jobs for vulnerable workers with low skill levels and pay are most at risk in the changing market. Does Policy B1 provide appropriate protection for employment sites in the area?

10. Should Policy B1 and/or Table 2 refer to the Carpenters District?

19. Are all the criteria in Policy B4 justified including the figure of “75 per cent of historic market rent” as achieved at Neptune Wharf? And does the Glossary include a satisfactory definition of low cost workspace?

*Box 6.5 The Planning Inspector's questions on the proposed employment land and low cost workspace policies, for debate at the EiP on the LLDC local plan in March 2015. Source: LLDC (2015a np).*

For other interest groups, however, the LLDC had gone too far in proposing to protect some industrial sites from housing or mixed-use development. Representations from developers resulted in the Inspector's including a question about whether the proposed protections for identified Employment Clusters should be relaxed (question 7, Box 6.5). Representatives of Roypark and Newstates, British Telecom and GVA were present at the EiP in order to defend their interests - and might have succeeded in convincing the Inspector of their arguments had the Newham Network participants not been present to defend the LLDC's policies, in so far as they went.<sup>297</sup> In her report, the Planning Inspector used the evidence and experiences of Newham Network participants to justify rejecting the arguments of developers, upholding the

<sup>297</sup> A2 02/02/15, 06/02/15 and 04/03/15.

protections proposed by the LLDC but rejecting the Newham Network's arguments for stronger protections (The Planning Inspectorate 2015).

The Newham Network's alternative, more inclusive growth vision also included strong targets for new jobs, training and education for local residents.<sup>298</sup> The network's engagement with these issues developed substantially when Dan Hopewell (director of the Bromley by Bow Centre) and Geraldine Blake (director of Community Links) attended the workshop on the second draft plan, bringing 30 or 40 years' experience in delivering services for local residents to help them access jobs, training and education. Geraldine Blake was concerned about the plan's not setting targets for local jobs from new developments (policy B5) nor access to higher education for new universities (policy B6).<sup>299</sup> The LLDC's predecessor organisations had had some success in individually negotiating training and work contracts for local people prior to and during the Olympic Games and the LLDC had decided to continue with this approach rather than setting universally applicable targets, feeling that they could achieve more this way.<sup>300</sup> This strategy was contested by local residents and businesses, however, who felt it could not guarantee that legacy and convergence benefits would be secured, particularly in areas where the LLDC had less power and control.

When these issues came up again later in the workshop, one of the residents from the Carpenters Estate reflected on their experiences with UCL's development proposal and the Olympic Games. He suggested that any future higher education developments needed to be firmly rooted in the community, that employment and training initiatives should start in families and schools and that the LLDC should go much further on local jobs than their predecessors had in relation to the Olympic Games. Another local resident also highlighted that the plan had said nothing about skills, training and education for older people, something no-one else had picked up on. As a result of these discussions, the Newham Network's response to the second draft local plan was able to go into more detail and make stronger arguments on these issues, drawing on the desire of residents for local jobs, training and education and the experience and

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<sup>298</sup> A2 16/01/14 and 14/02/14.

<sup>299</sup> A2 29/09/14.

<sup>300</sup> Interviews with Paolo Nistri, Paul Brickell and Anonymous 5 (LLDC).

knowledge of community organisations with a track record in delivering these services in the area.

The same workshop also generated a new proposal about encouraging local supply chains. The topic was brought up by Plot London, when one of the business owners asked whether it would be possible for the local plan to ‘value a local business that starts here more because it generates the money within the local economy rather than if it’s going out to some other organisation’.<sup>301</sup> It was later taken up more fully by the director of the Bromley by Bow Centre, who proposed both that the local plan recognise and protect the economic ecosystems which had developed over time in Hackney Wick and Fish Island, for example, and also encourage the occupants of new, large developments such as Westfield Stratford City shopping centre to develop local supply chains.<sup>302</sup> A local resident agreed, adding that the major Olympic sporting venues had not developed catering contracts with local firms, for example, and should be required to do so.<sup>303</sup>

20. Should Policy B5 be strengthened in the interests of generating more jobs locally and enhancing skill levels? For example, should targets for job creation (20% was suggested) be set, and should use of a local supply chain be sought for some developments? Should some minor as well as major developments be subject to s106 obligations? Are firmer monitoring arrangements required?

21. The supporting text to Policy B6 refers to convergence and the contribution that enhanced higher education can make to eliminating deprivation. How in practice might local people and schools be affected? Should the policy say more about achieving local connections?

*Box 6.6 The Planning Inspector’s questions on the proposed policies for local jobs, training and access to higher education, for debate at the EiP on the LLDC local plan in March 2015. Source: LLDC (2015a np).*

These issues were debated at length during the EiP, when Newham Network participants made the most of the Inspector’s questions about the local plan’s policies for jobs, skills and training initiatives and higher education (Box 6.6). Here, Dan Hopewell (director of the Bromley by Bow Centre), Liam Crosby (Community Links) and Jack Hibberd (Truman’s Beer) drew on their experience of training and employing local people to push the LLDC to take a much

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<sup>301</sup> TR NN 29/09/14.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*

stronger approach.<sup>304</sup> They appeared united and coherent in these moments, demonstrating that the LLDC had excluded important local actors whose experience and competence were highly relevant to its convergence and legacy goals. The LLDC planning officers made no concession towards stronger targets for local jobs and training, however, defending their rationale for individual negotiations with developers. They did, however, proactively propose a new paragraph to clarify how new higher education developments would benefit local residents.<sup>305</sup> In addition, they made small changes to the strategic opening text for the chapter as a whole which stated that new development and investment would benefit existing local businesses and residents (LLDC 2015b). However, these proposed changes stopped far short of the concrete commitments sought by Newham Network participants for social impact programmes, jobs for local graduates and close partnership working between new higher education and local organisations, residents and businesses.<sup>306</sup>

In the end, as in the case of the Carpenters Community Plan group, the Newham Network encountered the limits of the LLDC's convergence and legacy objectives. These objectives had been set too high - across the five 'Host' or 'Growth' boroughs involved in hosting the Olympic Games, namely Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest - to ensure any benefits or protections for residents and businesses in any particular area, including within the LLDC area itself. Further, the risk that existing communities would be displaced by the developments that were intended to benefit them had not been acknowledged nor addressed in the Strategic Regeneration Framework that pre-dated the formation of the LLDC (Host Boroughs 2009). This is no surprise given that the 2012 Olympic Games itself were based in displacement and destruction, including more than 200 mainly small, industrial businesses from the industrial areas within what is now the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (Raco and Tunney 2010), more than 400 residents from the social housing estate, Clays Lane (Hatcher 2012) and valued allotments and marshes (Cheyne 2014, Save Lea Marshes nd). However, in the years immediately following the Olympic Games, it was widely acknowledged that convergence and legacy goals for east London were not on track (Growth Boroughs 2013

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<sup>304</sup> A2 04/03/15.

<sup>305</sup> A2 04/03/15; see also modification number MM7 in LLDC 2015c.

<sup>306</sup> A2 06/02/15.



and 2014, House of Lords Select Committee on Olympic and Paralympic Legacy 2013). Even the problematic commitments that were made were watered down: then Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, replaced his commitment 'to close the deprivation gap between the Olympic host boroughs... and the rest of London' with merely an intention to 'seek' to do so (Mayor of London 2014a p42, emphasis added). Nonetheless, the very existence of these legacy and convergence goals, however limited, motivated the Newham Network to develop elements of a more inclusive, alternative approach to economic development.

## 6.6 Conclusion

In the temporary space of the LLDC local plan EiP, a small number of Newham Network participants began to give voice and presence to the diverse strengths of the local economy. The EiP provided these businesses, artists' workspace providers and community enterprise organisations the opportunity directly to participate in debates about the future of the local economy, breaking out of the confines of the economic surveys and analysis undertaken to inform the plan and becoming political subjects. Several local businesses and organisations commented afterwards that they would not have been able to engage in these debates without the support of the Newham Network.<sup>307</sup> Mobilised by the opportunity to take part in the EiP, these diverse economic actors shared their knowledge and experience with others, enabling the Newham Network to extend and further develop propositions for 'healthy growth', including retaining industrial and low-cost workspace, strong targets for local jobs, training and education and encouraging supply chains.

As in the case of JSEP and the FALP (Chapter 5), participating in the EiP on the LLDC local plan was productive for the Newham Network, despite having limited impact on the plan itself. The time-limited nature and specific focus of the Newham Network, set by the framework of the broader LTF and Just Space project of which it was a part, meant that the relationships, knowledge and ideas generated through the EiP were not put into action in other spaces,

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<sup>307</sup> Gill Wildman (Plot London), personal communication, 23 March 2015; Jo Hughes (Mother Studios), personal communication, 17 March 2015; Liam Crosby (Community Links), personal communication, 11 March 2015; see also Crosby 2015.

however. In the last months of writing up this thesis, it has therefore been encouraging to hear that the Newham Network may be mobilising again, focussing on monitoring the 'legacy' from the Olympic Games (Appendix 3).

The speed with which Carpenters residents, businesses and other local organisations mobilised to produce their own community plan offers a stark contrast to the Newham Network. In this case, the clear and pressing threat of a new UCL campus mobilised Carpenters businesses to participate in the Carpenters Community Plan group at an early stage. The significant and sustained support I provided meant that Carpenters businesses could participate on an individual basis at a distance, as well as by participating in and contributing to collective discussions and processes in a variety of ways. Action-oriented interviews proved to be effective not only in extracting, testing out and further developing information and ideas for the community plan but also in opening up a longer-term dialogue with businesses. This mix of collective and individual involvement quickly and effectively mobilised support from businesses for the community planning process. It also meant that areas of potential ambiguity or disagreement – for example, over the plan's alternative vision of growth and the idea of a business forum – were not fully explored or resolved at the time. Business involvement decreased after UCL withdrew its proposal and the focus shifted to the emerging neighbourhood forum. The case of the Carpenters Community Plan group therefore highlights both the importance and challenge of sustaining alliances across different groups and interests over time (see also Edwards 2010b, Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2007, Marcuse 2009, Mayer 2007, Wills 2008, 2009 and 2012). Despite these difficulties, many Carpenters businesses remain formal members of the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum, supportive of and connected with its work in various ways at the time of writing (Appendix 3).<sup>308</sup> This chapter suggests that dedicated support and assistance may once again be needed to realise the Forum's continuing commitment to improving links with local businesses and developing a business forum.<sup>309</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> Sharon Hayward (London Tenants Federation), personal communication, 7 February and 22 May 2017.

<sup>309</sup> Sharon Hayward (London Tenants Federation), personal communication, 11 July 2017.

## **7 Challenging displacement and working towards community-led economic development in Tottenham**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the efforts of the Our Tottenham Local Economy working group (OTLE) and Wards Corner Community Coalition (WCC) to mobilise local traders and businesses, develop shared knowledge of the local economy, challenge the emerging Tottenham Area Action Plan (AAP) and work towards delivering the Wards Corner community plan. As explained in Chapter 4, I got involved in both groups as an activist in early 2013, from which position possibilities emerged for collaborative action research. While this chapter draws on my longer-term and broader involvement, its focus is on the collective knowledge and action that emerged through the research described in Section 4.5. It therefore focuses on a specific set of activities and a limited time period (January to October 2014 for OTLE; March to October 2014 for WCC) within what are much broader, longer and ongoing struggles (Chapter 4, Appendix 3).

In the first three sections of this chapter, I discuss how OTLE mobilised local traders and businesses, developed shared knowledge of the local economy and challenged the emerging Tottenham AAP. As 'rep' for the Local Economy working group, my role was to organise and facilitate meetings to progress and develop the actions on 'Supporting Small Businesses' defined in the OT charter. While the group remained rather small, it became an important space for the Tottenham Business Group (TBG, representing businesses threatened by the High Road West development scheme linked to the new Tottenham Hotspur stadium) to build connections and solidarity with residents and community groups. OTLE developed a shared understanding of the local economy, from which basis it developed proposals for a wide range of activities to celebrate, support and empower existing economic actors. Although the group remained too small and poorly resourced to pursue these activities, its discussions built a shared vision and understanding which the group further developed to challenge the emerging Tottenham AAP.

In Section 7.5, I focus on WCC's efforts to move from campaigning into community-led development, faced with very limited resources and intensifying and multiplying threats. I explore how the action-oriented interviews I conducted with traders, businesses and others in March 2014 not only produced new representations of the economic and community value of Wards Corner and Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa but also mobilised support for the community plan from a wide range of groups and interests. After the plan was awarded planning permission in April 2014, the Coalition began to turn its attentions from campaigning towards delivery. I focussed my efforts and energies on further mobilising traders and businesses to bring their knowledge and resources into the Coalition and the intended delivery vehicle for the plan, the West Green Road/Seven Sisters Development Trust (the Trust), building on the insights gained through action-oriented interviews. At the time of writing (August 2017), the campaign is at a critical juncture following the conclusion of the public inquiry into Haringey Council's decision to use Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) powers to facilitate Grainger's plan to demolish and redevelop Wards Corner.

## **7.2 Mobilising local traders and businesses across Tottenham**

Haringey Solidarity Group's (HSG's) critique of the Plan for Tottenham – the genesis for the OT network (see Chapter 4) – suggested that it threatened both residents and businesses (Haringey Council 2012, HSG 2012). From the outset, therefore, OT began to mobilise traders', businesses' and workers' groups as well as residents' and community groups across Tottenham. Before any of the traders facing displacement by the High Road West (HRW) redevelopment scheme linked to the new Tottenham Hotspurs stadium were involved in OT, residents actively raised awareness and built support for them through the network.<sup>310</sup> Early on, OT also sent messages of support to the campaign against pay cuts by cleaners at a local further education college.<sup>311</sup> Moaz Nanjuwany (chair of the Tottenham Traders Partnership (TTP)) spoke at the first OT conference in April 2013, both in the plenary session and at the 'supporting small businesses workshop' which he and I jointly introduced and

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<sup>310</sup> A3 06/06/13, 28/11/13 and 05/12/13.

<sup>311</sup> A3 27/11/13 and 10/12/13.

facilitated.<sup>312</sup> The community charter produced at that conference included taking action to support small businesses as one of its central objectives (Our Tottenham 2013c). The workshop produced three action points (Box 7.1) which were endorsed by the full network at the end of the conference. OT had therefore started to build stronger alliances between local residents, traders and workers and their various struggles and campaigns across Tottenham nearly a year before a dedicated Local Economy working group was established.

#### SUPPORT SMALL BUSINESSES

- 1) Build stronger alliances between residents and traders, and between residents' groups and the Tottenham Traders Partnership;
- 2) Lobby and champion for the needs of small businesses; and
- 3) Do an audit of local small businesses, their goods and services, and their issues.

*Box 7.1 Extract from the Our Tottenham Charter on supporting small businesses. Source: A3 18/12/13.*

When OTLE began to meet regularly in January 2014, the first priority was to identify and mobilise a range of traders' organisations to join meetings, discussions and activities. OTLE participants wanted to challenge the dominance of the Tottenham Major Landowners and Businesses Group in 'shaping the economic future of Tottenham in a direction which is disconnected from local residents and businesses'.<sup>313</sup> This group was set up by Haringey Council in January 2013 following a recommendation for improved coordination between public and private sectors from the Mayor of London's Independent Panel on Tottenham in the aftermath of the summer 2011 riots.<sup>314</sup> It brought together Haringey Council, the Greater London Authority and Transport for London with major businesses, landowners (including Tottenham Hotspur), developers (including Grainger, the council's preferred developer for Wards Corner) and other local actors (e.g. further education colleges) but did not include local business or residents' groups as members. Very little information was available publicly about this group until a Freedom of Information (FOI) request from HSG prompted Haringey Council to publish minutes of its meetings online. HSG (2013) was concerned that the group gave major landowners and businesses privileged access to the development and delivery

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<sup>312</sup> A2 06/04/13.

<sup>313</sup> A3 01/02/14.

<sup>314</sup> Interview with Robert Evans (Tottenham Landowners and Major Businesses group); see also Mayor of London's Independent Panel on Tottenham 2012 and Haringey Council 2013.

of regeneration plans for Tottenham and criticised the council for refusing to work with local residents and traders as delivery partners, seeing them only as consultees. Early on, OTLE set its sights on becoming an alternative to the Major Landowners and Businesses Group.

In my role as rep, I began by attempting to involve the traders and businesses I had met through my involvement in Wards Corner, in particular Seven Sisters market traders, the chairs of TTP and the NE London branch of the FSB, other groups I had become aware of through OT, in particular the TBG, and any other contacts I and other OTLE participants were able to gather.<sup>315</sup> I spoke to several people by phone, introducing them to OTLE and inviting them to meetings. Despite my efforts, none of these individuals attended the first OTLE meeting: most found it difficult to attend meetings or to get involved in other ways due to the demands both of their regular business activities and the campaigns and initiatives on which they were already working.<sup>316</sup> OTLE therefore decided to experiment with different meeting times, for example at evenings and weekend, to visit key people in person and to make use of existing networks rather than relying only on meetings.<sup>317</sup> Thanks to these efforts, representatives of two local traders' organisations, TBG (representing traders facing displacement by the HRW scheme), TTP and two social enterprises, Rockstone Foundation (focusing on cycling and rooted in local BME communities) and Community Builders (focusing on young people, social exclusion and BME heritage and culture), several members of WCC and other local residents became regular OTLE participants. OTLE did not succeed in involving a wider range of local economic actors in its discussions, however.<sup>318</sup> My and others' limited time and resources meant that the group increasingly focused on developing relationships and alliances with those traders, businesses and social enterprises which *did* participate rather than continuing in its efforts to broaden and diversify its engagement further.

At the first OTLE meeting, participants affirmed that supporting traders facing displacement by development plans was the central aim of the working

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<sup>315</sup> A3 06/01/14, 07/01/14, 08/01/14, 21/01/14 and 25/01/14.

<sup>316</sup> A3 25/01/14.

<sup>317</sup> A3 09/01/14, 13/01/14, 20/01/14, 21/01/14 and 25/01/14.

<sup>318</sup> A3 12/02/14, 24/04/14, 01/06/14, 04/06/14, 10/06/14, 17/06/14; RD 24/04/14, 20/05/14 and 17/06/14.

group, focusing in particular on High Road West and Wards Corner.<sup>319</sup> As in the case of the Carpenters Community Plan group, local residents felt that local businesses were facing similar risks of displacement to local residents.<sup>320</sup> At this meeting and subsequently, much of the discussion was focused on updates from Patricia Percy (co-chair of TBG) about the group's efforts to contest the HRW scheme, making connections with WCC's experiences and exploring how OTLE could support TBG.<sup>321</sup>

Patricia Percy introduced the history of the 11.8ha HRW site, strategically located between the planned new Tottenham Hotspurs stadium and White Hart Lane station. A master planning and consultation exercise conducted by Arup for Haringey Council had resulted in a proposal for large-scale redevelopment of around 1600 homes, 600 jobs and various new facilities, requiring significant demolition - including the well-used Peacock Industrial Estate and parts of Tottenham High Road (Haringey Council 2013a, 2013b, 2014a and 2015a, Tottenham Hotspur Ltd 2015). This scheme was strategically linked with Tottenham Hotspur's plans for a new stadium on the other side of the High Road: the demolition and comprehensive redevelopment of the HRW site would make it possible to create a new public square and 'walkway' to connect directly (a rebuilt and improved) White Hart Lane station and the new stadium, surrounded by retail and leisure developments. While it appeared as though it should be possible to accommodate existing businesses even within such comprehensive and large-scale redevelopment plans, Patricia Percy explained that affected businesses had found that dialogue with Haringey Council had been limited to terms for compensation and relocation, with options for inclusion and retention of existing businesses not on the table.<sup>322</sup> Furthermore, as Patricia Percy explained, Haringey Council had excluded the petition which TBG had organised in support of traders, signed by 4,000 people, from their analysis of responses to the consultation on HRW development options.<sup>323</sup> TBG was therefore strongly opposed to the plans and involved in campaigning on multiple fronts to build support for its case.

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<sup>319</sup> A3 25/01/14.

<sup>320</sup> A3 09/01/14.

<sup>321</sup> A3 25/01/14.

<sup>322</sup> A3 25/01/14; see also Percy 2014 and Percy cited in Oliphant 2014.

<sup>323</sup> A3 25/01/14; see also Haringey Council 2013b p46.

OTLE provided a forum for TBG to build relationships with other residents' and traders' groups, accessing their knowledge, experience and networks. The WCC members who regularly participated were particularly active in sharing their experiences and knowledge, for example, passing on contact information for the law firm that had represented WCC in its previous legal challenges and emphasising the importance of developing an alternative community plan.<sup>324</sup> Sue Penny (WCC) was able to put TBG in contact with the Tottenham Civic Society, which she thought might be able to help in relation to the heritage and conservation aspects of the proposed HRW plans.<sup>325</sup> Participants also shared media contacts, putting each other in touch with journalists who had taken an interest in their campaigns in the past and circulating information about each other's campaigns and events.<sup>326</sup> My work with JSEP meant that I was also able to put TBG in contact with groups in other parts of London whose experience they might benefit from, specifically the Elephant Amenity Network's use of FOI requests and the Information Tribunal appeal system to gain access to the viability appraisals used by developers in relation to the Heygate Estate redevelopment in Elephant and Castle.<sup>327</sup>

TBG also began to benefit from the experience and support of two other researchers who were working on PhDs relating to Tottenham's economy at the time and who participated in OTE. Mark Panton (Birkbeck), whose research focussed on stadium-led development, including the case of Tottenham Hotspur, helped TBG to use FOI requests to challenge Tottenham Hotspur's development plans, to respond to consultations and enquiries and to attract media attention.<sup>328</sup> Jane Clossick (CASS Cities, London Metropolitan University), whose research focussed on Tottenham High Street,<sup>329</sup> circulated information about the HRW plans and TBG while conducting a survey of businesses on Tottenham High Street and shared results with TBG for use in consultation responses. OTE enabled these researchers to make use of and develop their knowledge and skills in collaboration with TBG by providing a forum for regular dialogue and encounter.

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<sup>324</sup> A3 25/01/14.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>326</sup> A3 11/02/14, 03/03/14, 18/03/14, 01/07/14 and 07/10/14.

<sup>327</sup> A3 20/05/14.

<sup>328</sup> A3 20/05/14.

<sup>329</sup> A3 08/02/14, 30/05/14, 17/06/14, 01/07/14, 07/10/14 and 11/10/14.



The potential for collaborative and solidarity initiatives in support of the HRW traders' campaign emerged through regular encounter and dialogue in OTLE meetings. Through OTLE, Patricia Percy became aware of the Rockstone Foundation's aim of opening a cycle repair workshop in an industrial area at risk from the HRW development, which fitted well with TBG's campaign to retain these areas for local enterprise, training and jobs.<sup>330</sup> Discussions between Patricia Percy and Ricardo Johnson (Rockstone Foundation) at OTLE meetings resulted in both groups referencing each other in meetings with politicians and in consultation responses, supporting each other and strengthening their visions of local economic development in the process. OTLE also made plans for a rally in support of HRW traders facing displacement to build local debate about alternative plans that could accommodate existing residents and businesses.<sup>331</sup> While this event did not take place due to competing demands within TBG, OTLE provided a forum for TBG to explore how an alternative community plan might be pursued and demonstrated support from local residents and traders. Patricia Percy was regularly invited to join OT deputations to meetings with Haringey Council, providing the struggle to defend HRW traders against displacement with a key strategic position within OT's broader campaign for community planning and regeneration in Tottenham. During OTLE meetings, she stated several times that the group was immensely valuable for TBG as a means of sharing information, participating in complex and strategic consultations and making connections with and learning from other groups in Tottenham and beyond.<sup>332</sup>

OTLE also provided motivation and opportunity for TTP to mobilise its members in support of traders, businesses, residents and community assets facing displacement across Tottenham. Moaz Nanjuwany (TTP and WCC) was a prominent participant at the first OT conference in April 2013, speaking strongly in support of the network and clearly aligning local businesses' struggles against displacement with it. When OTLE formed, he invited me to attend a TTP meeting in February 2014 in order to introduce the group and invite TTP members to participate.<sup>333</sup> While several TTP members welcomed

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<sup>330</sup> A3 08/02/14.

<sup>331</sup> A3 17/07/14, 13/08/14, 15/08/14 and 17/08/14.

<sup>332</sup> A3 17/06/14 and 07/10/14; RD 17/06/14.

<sup>333</sup> A3 05/02/14.

the potential to collaborate with OTLE, Haringey Council's town centre manager - present at the meeting alongside representatives of the local police force because TTP works with the council and the police - was concerned that OTLE would duplicate the work of TTP and highlighted that TTP was not affiliated with OT.<sup>334</sup> A month later, however, Moaz Nanjuwany proposed OTLE and TTP merge their planned meetings, organised for the same evening to discuss many of the same issues, including the consultation on the community plan for Wards Corner and TTP's planned Easter street parade.<sup>335</sup> Many regular OTLE participants were present, as well as other members of WCC and one of the organisers of the community purchase of the Antwerp Arms pub, demonstrating solidarity between local residents and traders which served to put pressure on other TTP members to support WCC and on Haringey Council to provide funding and support for their street parade. At this meeting, TTP committed to responding formally to the consultation in support of the WCC plan. Moaz Nanjuwany stated that TTP had not done enough to engage politically and would be doing so more, reminding those present that small businesses made up 80 per cent of the economy.<sup>336</sup>

TTP formally affiliated with OT in August 2014. At the following OTLE meeting, TTP secretary, Blanche Dawling (proprietor of a travel firm on West Green Road), explained how TTP had joined OT in order to make links with local residents.<sup>337</sup> Patricia Percy pressed her about what TTP were doing to support businesses at risk of displacement by development schemes. She suggested that, while TTP was focussed on securing improvements for businesses remaining in the area, TBG was focussed on securing the survival of threatened businesses.<sup>338</sup> In affiliating with OT, however, TTP had supported the OT Charter and therefore OT's commitment to support businesses at risk of displacement, as another OTLE participant pointed out. In contrast, TBG had not formally affiliated, despite being one of the most active members of OTLE

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<sup>334</sup> A3 05/02/14; RD 05/02/14,

<sup>335</sup> A3 26/03/14.

<sup>336</sup> A3 26/03/14.

<sup>337</sup> A3 19/08/14

<sup>338</sup> A3 19/08/14; RD 19/08/14

and focussed on fighting displacement.<sup>339</sup> One participant said they hoped OTLE would provide a space in which different business groups could meet one another, talk about their common interests and begin to work more closely together.

Overall, while OTLE had some success in mobilising traders and businesses across Tottenham, it remained a small group during its first 10 months, not achieving anything like the size, scale and resources needed to challenge the dominance of the Tottenham Major Landowners and Businesses Group. Nonetheless, through OTLE, two business groups (TBG and TTP), two social enterprises (Rockstone Foundation and Community Builders), members of WCC and other local residents and researchers were able to support one another by sharing their experience and knowledge. Most significantly, OTLE provided businesses facing displacement through the HRW scheme with support and solidarity and provided motivation and opportunities for TTP to take up a more critical position in relation to Haringey Council's plans, led by its active chair, Moaz Nanjuwany. While only TTP formally affiliated to OT, through regular dialogue and encounter, those traders, businesses, residents and others which did participate in OTLE gradually built the relationships of solidarity articulated in the OT charter.

### **7.3 Building shared knowledge about Tottenham's local economy**

Conducting an 'audit of local small businesses, their goods and services and their issues' had been one of three action points originally agreed at the first OT conference (Box 7.1). OTLE's aims for this survey were not only to increase their understanding about the local economy but also to talk with local firms about development and regeneration plans and involve them in OTLE. When OTLE started meeting regularly, it began by gathering useful case studies, surveys and reports, such as Gort Scott's (2013) survey of Tottenham's industrial estates, which highlighted the area's rich and diverse industrial economy, and the Carbon Commission's (2012) report on reducing emissions in

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<sup>339</sup> The reasons for this decision are not entirely clear, but Patricia Percy suggests they included OT's broad remit, including many other struggles over planning and development in Tottenham (Patricia Percy, personal communication, 23 March 2017). She commented the much narrower focus of OTLE meant that it was extremely useful for the group.

Haringey, including through retrofitting cooperatives.<sup>340</sup> Jane Clossick (CASS Cities), Anil Korotane (WCC member and an architect) and I then worked to develop a proposal for a survey of Tottenham's economy that would not only meet OTLE's goals but also enable each of us to also explore specific issues of interest/areas relating to our own research and practice, providing a common framework which we hoped others could also use in future to survey other parts of Tottenham.<sup>341</sup> Jane Clossick carried out her survey of the high street, handing out material on OTLE and TBG at the same time, and shared her data with Patricia Percy for use in future TBG campaigning work at an OTLE meeting in October 2014. I carried out my survey of Wards Corner in March 2014, also linking it to a range of WCC's concerns (see Section 7.5). Overall, however, limited time and resources restricted our ability to realise OTLE's ambition to further build their knowledge of the local economy and draw others into their activities within the timeframe of my role as OTLE rep.

Support the Local Economy: Starting with the strengths and needs of Tottenham's residents, small businesses, social enterprises, cooperatives and community assets, putting sustainability, equality, local needs and community service at the heart of the local economy.

*Box 7.2 Extract from the Our Tottenham Community Charter on supporting the local economy, as updated at the OT Conference in October 2014. Source: Our Tottenham (2013c np).*

While OTLE's ambitions for an audit were not fully realised, the group nonetheless built a shared understanding of Tottenham's diverse economy and propositions for more inclusive local economic development through iterative discussions. At its first meeting, participants felt they would need to explain what they meant by 'economy' and began to identify activities, sectors and issues to be included.<sup>342</sup> OTLE's understanding of the economy included different forms of enterprises - social enterprises, cooperatives and small businesses - as well as community facilities and public services, extending across a diversity of market and non-market activities.<sup>343</sup> OTLE placed this wide range of actors 'at the heart of the local economy', considerably expanding its concerns beyond their original focus on small businesses (Box 7.2). As a result

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<sup>340</sup> A3 09/01/14 and 31/01/14.

<sup>341</sup> A3 25/01/14, 07/02/14, 08/02/14, 12/02/14, 03/03/14, 06/03/14, 08/03/14, 17/06/14, 07/10/14 and 11/10/14.

<sup>342</sup> A3 09/01/14 and 13/01/14.

<sup>343</sup> A3 09/01/14, 25/01/14 and 08/02/14.

of OTLE's discussions, the group proposed changes to the OT charter to expand the network's goals in line with this vision. The changes were endorsed by OT at its third conference in October 2014.

OTLE's broad understanding of the local economy provided a starting point for participants to develop propositions for more inclusive approaches to economic development, in which the strengths and needs of local economic actors were connected. These included:

- Growing social and community enterprises, both as a means of realising OT's aims for community empowerment, involvement and benefit from development and regeneration in Tottenham and to address problems of youth and female unemployment and other forms of exclusion;<sup>344</sup>
- Retaining and growing repair and recycling activities and protecting industrial land in order to support the growth of a green and sustainable economy, as well as decent jobs which local young people could access and space for social and community enterprise, inspired by discussions between TBG and Rockstone Foundation and TBG's idea for an alternative plan for HRW;<sup>345</sup>
- Protecting existing green and wild spaces from development pressures, retaining them for growing projects that could be linked to the proposal of Living Under One Sun (a not-for-profit organisation running a range of projects centred on a community allotment) for a College of Horticulture in Tottenham;<sup>346</sup> and
- Using local training providers to deliver contracts associated with new development in order to provide decent jobs which local people could access, including building up expertise in planning and development locally, rather than drawing in professional advice from other places.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> A3 31/01/14, 08/02/14, 20/05/14, 17/06/14, 19/08/14 and 11/10/14.

<sup>345</sup> A3 25/01/14, 08/02/14 and 08/03/14.

<sup>346</sup> A3 11/10/14.

<sup>347</sup> A3 07/10/14 and 11/10/14.

While OTLE developed shared understandings about the local economy and propositions for more inclusive economic development, participants recognised that their ideas would be unlikely to have much impact unless traders and businesses had more influence over the decision-making process.<sup>348</sup> OTLE therefore defined supporting the local economy as a multi-faceted project of understanding, celebrating and, crucially, empowering diverse local economic actors. The group discussed a range of actions to reposition existing economic actors within strategic planning debates, for example, creating an exhibition to celebrate Tottenham's existing local economy, holding a rally in support of HRW traders and attracting more media interest in the activities threatened by development plans.<sup>349</sup> Ultimately, the ability of the group to realise its ideas was radically constrained by its small size and limited resources. In this context, as I show in the next section, the consultation on Haringey Council's new local planning framework was helpful in providing focus and purpose to OTLE's discussions, through which participants could further build and develop their relationships and knowledge.

#### **7.4 Challenging the emerging Tottenham Area Action Plan**

Haringey Council began consulting on various changes to the local planning framework in January 2014 (Haringey Council 2014b and 2014c) in order to deliver the agenda set out in the non-statutory document, *A Plan for Tottenham* (Haringey Council 2012).<sup>350</sup> These changes included a new Site Allocations Development Plan Document (DPD) and two new Area Action Plans (AAPs) for Tottenham, one for South Tottenham (including Wards Corner) and one for the Northumberland Park area of North Tottenham (including the new Tottenham Hotspur stadium and HRW) (Haringey Council 2014b and 2014c). The AAPs continued to 'pick out' large areas for new development, ignoring existing uses and activities. A map showing Tottenham's 'possible Character areas [sic]', identifying different areas for 'Business & Exchange', 'Culture & Education', 'Sports & Leisure', 'Retail' and 'Knowledge Hub' was included but there was just one paragraph on a 'Socio Economic Snapshot [sic]' which made no mention of Tottenham's existing economy (2014b pp3 and 5).

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<sup>348</sup> A3 25/01/14, 20/05/14, 17/08/14 and 07/10/14.

<sup>349</sup> A3 08/02/14, 17/07/14, 13/08/14, 15/08/14, 17/08/14, 07/10/14 and 11/10/14.

<sup>350</sup> Interview with Haringey Councillor Alan Strickland.

OT's response to the first draft AAP and other proposed changes to the local planning framework was coordinated by another of its working groups, focussed on Planning Policy (OTPP), coordinated by Claire Colomb (local resident, OT member and UCL planning academic).<sup>351</sup> OTPP organised a series of meetings and site visits in order to inform its response to the consultation (OTPP 2014a and 2014b). OTPP focussed its attention on the housing policies and proposed residential development sites but also considered the many industrial areas earmarked for residential and mixed use development across Tottenham. The group based its response on the principles agreed by OT at its first conference on the draft AAP, including its commitment to supporting small businesses. It therefore made parallel proposals for existing firms and residents, attempting to secure and apply principles of no demolition of in-use and valued existing buildings, community benefit and community partnership. More specifically, OTPP argued that well-used industrial areas should not be designated for re-development, that workers in development areas should be involved and empowered, that displaced firms should be provided with alternative, equivalent accommodation in the developed site or nearby and that all jobs provided during and after development should be 'quality jobs'.

Several OTLE participants were involved in OTPP's work, in addition to discussing the draft AAP at OTLE meetings. These meetings were important in providing local residents and businesses with an opportunity to make sense of the economic aspects of these long, technical, poorly communicated and little publicised documents. Patricia Percy (TBG) later commented that she would not have been able to prepare a response to the consultation (or the FALP, see Chapter 5) without OTLE's support.<sup>352</sup> OTLE's discussions were productive in developing participants' knowledge and critique of the first draft AAP and, furthermore, in mobilising others to participate and in developing shared

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<sup>351</sup> During Spring 2014, three UCL Master students providing additional support to OTPP, as part of a course on Community Participation on City Strategies, taught by Jennifer Robinson, Michael Edwards and Just Space, with additional support and mentoring from me as a tutor. Two other groups of Masters students also worked with OT as part of this course, providing support on Community Mapping and to OT affiliated group, Friends of Lord Morrison Hall, an Afro-Caribbean run community centre at risk.

<sup>352</sup> A3 03/09/14, 09/09/14, 07/10/14 and 11/10/14. My work with JSEP and OTLE meant that I provided support for TBG and other OTLE members to engage with the FALP. TBG and various members of WCC also gave evidence at the EiP on economic issues (see Chapter 5).

knowledge. For instance, in the process of discussing the draft AAP, OTLE decided to hold a meeting focussed on the role of Tottenham Hotspur in Haringey Council's approach to planning, development and regeneration. This in turn led to collaborations between TBG and other OTLE participants, in particular Mark Panton (Birkbeck), on a response to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee enquiry into stadium-led regeneration and to Tottenham Hotspur's revised planning application.<sup>353</sup> OTLE's early discussions were formative in producing the relationships and resources that enabled the group to respond to the consultation on the second draft of the Tottenham AAP (the two AAPs were amalgamated into one in this version) and the site allocations DPD, alongside other local planning documents in March 2015 (Atkins 2015, Haringey Council 2015a, 2015b and 2015c).

These documents incorporated much higher targets for new homes and jobs, reflecting changes introduced to the London Plan through the Further Alterations to the London Plan (FALP) in order to accommodate higher-than-anticipated population growth within London's existing global city growth model (Chapters 3 and 5). The FALP increased the minimum targets for new homes in the Upper Lee Valley from 9,500 (between 2011 and 2031) to 20,100 (between 2015 and 2036), an increase of 110 per cent, the highest of any Opportunity Area with the exception of Euston, where targets increased by between 180 and 280 per cent (a range was given) (Mayor of London 2011 and 2015).<sup>354</sup> While the target for new employment capacity in the Upper Lee Valley remained the same, the new employment projections underpinning the FALP forecast the highest percentage increase for any London borough at 29.5 per cent (from 73,000 jobs in 2011 to 95,000 jobs in 2036), compared to a 15.5 per cent increase in the 2011 London Plan (*ibid*). In his response to the Mayor of London's proposals, Haringey Council's head of planning Stephen Kelly (2014) stated that both new targets were unrealistic. He cited other evidence, including historic employment growth, the borough's own employment projections and the London Employment Sites Database for a much lower employment growth rate of between 7 and 11 per cent (*ibid*). Haringey's employment land review, published shortly afterwards, confirmed this view and recommended that the

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<sup>353</sup> A3 08/03/14, 20/05/14 and 07/10/14; RD 24/04/14. See also OTLE 2014 and 2015.

<sup>354</sup> Calculations undertaken by Ilinca Diaconescu for the JSEP workspace handbook (see insert).



council plan instead on the basis of lower, historic trend based projections (Atkins 2015 p49). The higher homes and jobs targets were introduced into the London Plan despite Haringey Council's concerns, however, placing new growth pressures on the borough and on Tottenham in particular which, as the borough's main strategic growth area, was expected to contribute around half of its new homes and jobs targets (Haringey Council 2015c).

Haringey Council (2015a, 2015b and 2015c) looked to the borough's reservoir of industrial land in order to help it achieve the new higher homes and jobs targets introduced by the FALP. This reservoir of land was particularly attractive to planners looking for where and how to accommodate more growth because of its currently low job densities.<sup>355</sup> If job densities could be increased, the same land could accommodate more jobs *and* more homes. By assuming that job densities would increase, Haringey Council was able to release more employment sites for housing without compromising its ability to provide sufficient employment space to accommodate the predicted jobs growth. The council justified this approach by projecting forward past trends of industrial decline, making use of narratives of deindustrialisation to paint Tottenham as a barren area whose deprivation was the result of industrial flight (Haringey Council 2015a). The borough's forecasts for demand of new industrial floorspace were reduced from 137,000 sqm to 32,000 sqm and several Locally Significant Industrial Sites described as well occupied and performing were released for housing and regeneration (Haringey Council 2015a, 2015b and 2015c). Policies were also introduced to maximise the employment floorspace and employment densities achieved through new commercial development, steering developers towards office space rather than hybrid or industrial space. In interviews, council officers and others acknowledged the difficulty the borough faced in implementing both housing and job growth targets but were optimistic that the Council's approach would help to reconcile the tensions between the two targets.<sup>356</sup> As in the case of the LLDC, for some planning officials interviewed, Tottenham was a site of innovation and new thinking about

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<sup>355</sup> Interviews with Stephen Kelly, Dan Hawthorn and Vicky Clarke (Haringey Council), Councillor Alan Strickland and Neale Coleman (LLDC and Mayoral Advisor on Tottenham).

<sup>356</sup> Interviews with Stephen Kelly, Dan Hawthorn and Vicky Clarke (Haringey Council), Councillor Alan Strickland and Neale Coleman (LLDC and Mayoral Advisor on Tottenham).

how to combine residential and employment uses through densification, a problem faced by boroughs across London.<sup>357</sup>

Releasing employment sites and increasing job densities on those that remained ran counter to the evidence presented in the Council's own employment land review of strong demand for the re-use of existing industrial workspace, however. Borough-wide industrial vacancy rates were at 6 per cent, slightly below the level of 'a normal level of vacancy in a buoyant market', 7 to 10 per cent (Atkins 2015 p49). Elsewhere, Haringey Council acknowledged and even celebrated Tottenham's thriving industrial economy (Atkins 2015, Gort Scott 2013). In addition, the employment land review found a limited market for new office space at higher job densities. These tensions and contradictions were not acknowledged but were obscured – whether knowingly or not – through a misreading of national planning policy. Haringey Council stated that the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) stipulated that local planning authorities should not continue to protect employment sites for which 'there is no reasonable prospect of them coming forward for specific types of development' (Haringey Council 2015c p84), when in fact the NPPF states that employment protections should not continue 'where there is no reasonable prospect of a site being *used* for that purpose' (DCLG 2012 p7, emphasis added). This misreading suggests the Council was more focussed on the market for new commercial development than the demand for existing workspace. Its approach risked replacing well-used and in-demand low-cost workspace in protected industrial areas with higher density, less affordable workspace in mixed use developments, for which there was no evidence of demand. In order to reconcile challenging jobs and homes targets, then, Haringey Council would need to bring about a total transformation of the local economy.

I organised and facilitated a special OTLE meeting to discuss the new documents in March 2015. It was attended by several regular OTLE participants as well as others who had not previously participated, including Mark Brearley (proprietor of an aluminium tray and trolley manufacturing business based near

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<sup>357</sup> Interviews with Stephen Kelly (Haringey Council) and Neale Coleman (LLDC and Mayoral Advisor on Tottenham).

the Old Kent Road, director of CASS Cities and colleague of OTLE member, Jane Clossick). I prepared and presented a summary of the economic aspects of the Tottenham AAP and other changes to the local planning framework. After the meeting, I further developed this material in light of OTLE's discussion for inclusion in OT's consultation response (coordinated by OTPP and Claire Colomb; extract at Appendix 1, Part Ci).

OTLE's input to OT's consultation response emphasised how Tottenham's existing economic strengths and assets were being sacrificed in pursuit of Haringey's new homes and jobs targets.<sup>358</sup> OTLE strongly opposed the downgrading of employment sites to facilitate controversial major development schemes such as HRW and mixed-use development more generally. Several community and small business groups also made their own responses, highlighting the exclusions of key economic assets such as Seven Sisters market, ethnic and migrant economies, small businesses and industrial areas due to be downgraded despite being in good and healthy usage (FSB 2015, Latin Elephant *et al* 2015, TBG 2015, WCC 2015). Some researchers and architects also responded to the consultation, citing the evidence they had uncovered of strong local industries, diverse and adaptable high street economies and Tottenham's important and growing small and micro business sector (Brearley 2015, Clossick 2015, Panton 2015, Scott 2015). OTLE made the case for a much more detailed study of the actual activities and uses under way on Tottenham's employment areas – especially those earmarked for redevelopment - suggesting that existing stakeholder engagement and evidence gathering had focussed on developers and real estate agents, concentrating on the prospects for new commercial industrial and office workspace rather than existing businesses and business groups and organisations.

Instead of the 'comprehensive' approach to redevelopment in Tottenham proposed in the AAP, OTLE argued for a more incremental approach, arguing that this would be 'better able to include and incorporate existing residents, businesses and community uses... build[ing] and support[ing] existing strengths and diversity... [rather than] wip[ing] them out' (Appendix 1, Part Ci). In their

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<sup>358</sup> A3 16/03/15.

response, WCC (2015) argued that their proposals for incremental and inclusive development at Wards Corner should be recognised within the Tottenham AAP - rather than only Grainger's plan for demolition and comprehensive redevelopment. OTLE attempted to demonstrate the imperative and potential to move beyond the solely compensatory relocation schemes being discussed with traders and residents in relation to the HRW scheme, for instance, which one trader described as 'giving the impression that we are an unfortunate obstacle in the way of a glamorous scheme'<sup>359</sup> and the TBG 'as a problem to be dealt with by decanting, dilution and removal' (2015 p4).<sup>360</sup> In their responses, TBG (2015) and Panton (2015) suggested that the interests of local residents and businesses were being sacrificed to facilitate Tottenham Hotspur's new stadium, despite the evidence that such schemes deliver few local benefits. The FSB (2015) called for policies to ensure that local traders were not displaced by new development and rising rents while Latin Elephant argued for mechanisms to support migrant and ethnic economies to continue to thrive, as did Clossick (2015), based on her research of Tottenham High Street.

OTLE therefore mobilised a strong response to the consultation on the second draft Tottenham AAP in March 2015 from a wide range of business and community groups and supportive researchers, a substantial development of its engagement with the first draft AAPs the previous year. While OTPP went on to coordinate OT's participation in the EiP itself in August and September 2016, OTLE was not, however, active in these latter stages of the process. It is therefore not possible to point to any particular impact of OTLE's efforts on the Tottenham AAP although, as in the case of JSEP and the Newham Network, new knowledge and possibilities for solidarity and support were created in the process of challenging the emerging AAP (see also Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti 2007). These experiences also highlight again the difficulty of combining the shorter timeframes of research with the much longer consultation and EiP processes involving in finalising metropolitan and local plans.

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<sup>359</sup> A3 07/04/14.

<sup>360</sup> See also A3 07/10/14.

## 7.5 Working towards community-led development at Wards Corner



Figure 7.1 A map of Wards Corner (including Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa) showing the market traders and local businesses interviewed in March 2014. Source: own observations, map and design by Miles Irving (UCL Geography Drawing Office), photos 2, 10 and 11 by Pam Isherwood (WCC) (both with permission) and photos 7, 8 and 9 by the author.

The case of WCC provides further insight into some of the challenges of mobilising diverse economic actors to challenge and develop alternatives to plans and development proposals that threaten to displace them. When I got involved in WCC in early 2013, the Coalition was in the process of bringing a second judicial review of Grainger's revised plans to demolish and redevelop Wards Corner (Section 4.4.3). Once this route was exhausted, WCC shifted focus to finalising the latest iteration of the community plan for restoration, expansion and enhancement of the corner and market buildings (Figure 4.3). The long demands of campaigning over many years, in particular fundraising, dealing with technical legal issues and the demands of preparing a community

plan for formal submission for planning permission, were taking their toll on the Coalition. Few people were actively involved in weekly WCC meetings, with traders and businesses being particularly poorly represented, although the Coalition still mobilised large numbers of residents, traders, businesses and supporters at key strategic moments. Traders and businesses also continued to be actively involved in other groups, in particular the Latin American market traders' group, El Pueblito Paisa Ltd, and TTP, whose then chair, Moaz Nanjuwany, ran the secondary branch of his optician's practice from Wards Corner.

In the remainder of this chapter, I focus on how the action-oriented interviews I carried out at Wards Corner not only generated new knowledge about its economic and community value (Section 7.5.1) but also mobilised support for the community plan from traders and businesses (Section 7.5.2) who, in turn, began to work with residents and other supporters to build a community development vehicle (the Trust) to deliver the community plan (Section 7.5.3). In total, I interviewed 13 market traders, independent businesses and other local actors during March 2014 (Appendix 2, Part Gi; see also Figure 7.1), after the community plan had finally been validated and put out to consultation by Haringey Council. As traders and businesses spoke, with their permission I typed their comments directly into the online 3D interactive 'Sticky World' model of the community plan and also transferred these into the consultation response form on the Council's website, checking the information with them before submitting it.<sup>361</sup> Many of these comments began to demonstrate the economic and community value of the local economy, enabling traders, businesses and other local actors to demonstrate their support for and commitment to the community plan from a position of strength and authority.

At the time, there appeared to be no obvious other use for these new narratives of the economic and community value of Wards Corner and Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa. The community plan had already been prepared so attentions were focussed on mobilising support for and then delivering the plan. However, as I discuss in Section 7.5.3, the threat of the Grainger development did not go away but rather intensified and multiplied. After

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<sup>361</sup> A3 20/03/14.

Haringey Council finally prepared its Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) to facilitate the Grainger development in September 2016, when I was in the latter stages of writing up this thesis, I therefore prepared a research summary of the economic and community value of Wards Corner, which I appended to my objection to the proposed CPO (M. Taylor 2016; Appendix 1, Part Cii). I was then asked by the market traders to act as an expert witness in the public inquiry, for which I produced a Proof of Evidence (M. Taylor 2017). The narratives about the economic and community value of Wards Corner described below therefore only became useful to the campaign more than two years after the interviews were conducted.

#### *7.5.1 Describing the economic and community value of Wards Corner*

WCC has long understood the importance of unpicking and challenging the myths about Wards Corner used by Haringey Council, Grainger and others to build support for demolition and to rule out alternative proposals (Allen *et al* 2012). The Coalition has been particularly active in challenging this neglect of the economic and social value of existing market traders and businesses and their desire and resources for self-management, growth and development (*ibid*). A key challenge has been how to develop ways of articulating the particular value of the local economy and to open up routes through which existing local traders, businesses and residents can demonstrate their creativity and capacity for self-determination.<sup>362</sup> The Coalition put forward an alternative model of economic development, based on an understanding of Wards Corner as a social economy, meeting particular community needs and supporting livelihoods, fuelled by the natural evolution of existing businesses, diversification and local supply chains, rather than displacement and inward investment.<sup>363</sup>

Before my involvement, there had been at least two attempts to map or value the local economy. In 2012, one WCC member had carried out a simple survey of the site which revealed an estimated 48 businesses and 135 jobs (comprising an estimated 88 full time and 23 part time employees, 15

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<sup>362</sup> A1 23/03/13; see also Allen *et al* 2012.

<sup>363</sup> A1 23/03/13.

owners/managers, six self-employed workers and three casual workers).<sup>364</sup> Patria Roman-Velazquez (chair of Latin Elephant and expert in migrant and ethnic economies at Loughborough University) had also conducted an interview with Victoria Alvarez, chair of the Seven Sisters market traders' organisation, El Pueblito Paisa Ltd, which began to reveal the ways in which traders understood and met the broader psychological and social needs of their customers and the particular role of the market in supporting Latin America entrepreneurship by building a sense of belonging and identity.<sup>365</sup> My own efforts to reveal the value of Wards Corner, a site more commonly represented as being empty and worthless, through its rich and thick interplay of commerce and community, were inspired by and built on this earlier work. I focussed on speaking to the most influential actors in order to mobilise broad support for the community plan, rather than aiming for complete coverage or a representative sample (Section 4.5.2), and so did not produce new estimates of the number of businesses, jobs and other quantitative measures. Nonetheless, I was able to produce statements which ascribed positive value to the local economy (Box 7.3).

Looking more closely at individual businesses, other strong narratives of the local economy begin to emerge. The co-proprietor of Carniceria Martinez, a butcher specialising in South American meats based in Seven Sisters market for seven years, explained the particular value of the market as a place to start a business, needing little up-front investment, and his concern that this value would not be recognised by Grainger in compensating traders should their development go ahead.<sup>366</sup> Several market traders talked proudly and defiantly about the investment they and others had made in their units, using this as a means of expressing their economic power.<sup>367</sup> The value of Seven Sisters market as a place of entrepreneurship and experimentation was also emphasised by manager, Jill Oakley, and her worker, who both identified low start-up costs and the flexibility to merge, divide and adapt the units as being particularly important.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>364</sup> A3 02/04/14.

<sup>365</sup> A1 23/03/13.

<sup>366</sup> Interview with Anonymous 2 (Carniceria Martinez).

<sup>367</sup> Interview with Ben Nyerende (Ben Property Solutions).

<sup>368</sup> Interviews with Jill Oakley (Manager, Seven Sisters market) and Anonymous 4 (working for Jill Oakley, Seven Sisters market).



All eight businesses interviewed are independently owned.

The eight businesses are mainly specialised in food and drink and personal services.

They include one restaurant; one butcher; one off-license; two hair and beauty salons; one optician; one lettings agent; and one video store.

Five of the six market traders began their businesses in Seven Sisters market, while one set up a branch in Seven Sisters after establishing his business initially in Elephant and Castle.

Two proprietors live locally while six travel from surrounding areas or other parts of London.

Together, these eight businesses provide 17 full time jobs and 14 part-time jobs, or an average of three full-time equivalent (FTE) jobs per business (assuming part-time jobs are 50% FTE).

At least 18 of the 31 workers (approx. 60%) live locally (Tottenham, Seven Sisters, Finsbury Park, Walthamstow).

The six market traders each report between 18 and 50 customers per day, while Tottenham Wine reports 500 customers per day and Hammonds Eye Practice cites a patient base of 20,000.

All businesses report that their customers are drawn from other parts of London, as well as from Tottenham.

*Box 7.3 Economic characteristics of the eight market traders and small businesses on the Wards Corner site interviewed. Source: the author.*

The market manager, market traders and independent businesses emphasised their economic success by referring to the overall operating success of the market, their ability to win trade from competitors and the lives and livelihoods the market supports. Jill Oakley explained that her capacity to pay the rent on the market lease depended on the success of market traders and their ability to pay their rent.<sup>369</sup> Similarly, her worker emphasised the success of the market in remaining full and lively over the course of the global financial crisis.<sup>370</sup> Rickey Gill, proprietor of Tottenham Wine, an independent off-licence based at 1A/1B West Green Road for 39 years, also used a variety of comparisons to communicate to me the economic strength of his business and his ability to compete with much larger wholesalers:

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<sup>369</sup> Interview with Jill Oakley (Manager, Seven Sisters market).

<sup>370</sup> Interview with Anonymous 4 (working for Jill Oakley, Seven Sisters market).

*'I've done an IT degree... but for me I'm making better earnings out of this place... there's a shop in Clapham... [and] near IKEA [in Edmonton]... he's got a lot of stuff... but his prices are nowhere near as competitive as mine... all the local [bars and restaurants] come in and buy cases... because our prices isn't [sic] too distant from the wholesalers and it saves them driving, storing, and things like that when they can just grab it when they need it... we buy it by the pallet and we've dealt with the lady who started that business from day one so she gives it to us the price that she would give it to a large wholesaler'* Interview with Rickey Gill (Tottenham Wine).

The co-proprietor of Carniceria Martinez, emphasised the value of his business in meeting his family's basic needs: 'we haven't got a huge amount of money, that is something which can literally just provide your food for your family and your rent and things like that'.<sup>371</sup> Ben Nyerende, proprietor of Ben Property Solutions, also emphasised the central role of the market in supporting the lives of traders and their families:

*'You have about three, four, five people employed in each one of the small units like this. If you count how many people are living... through the one small unit, its plenty, plenty of them.... It doesn't matter how many billions [Grainger] have, they are not saving all of my pounds that I earn a day to make my family live. What they are saying, you go and die, when you die, we'll call you when everything is right.... Have you ever seen anyone resurrected from the dead to come and do business? That's what Grainger's plan is. They don't care about nobody, they don't care about me. The community care about me. It's important'* Interview with Ben Nyerende (Ben Property Solutions) .

At the same time, many of the traders, business owners and other local actors I spoke with explained how the local economy had been negatively affected by the long-standing threat of the Grainger development. Many customers thought that Seven Sisters market had already been demolished and were surprised to find it still operating. Several people told me that Haringey Council, Grainger and Transport for London had refused to consider proposals for incremental development and the re-use of empty buildings, preferring instead to let them fall into disrepair.<sup>372</sup> Similarly, the uncertainty was preventing existing market management, traders and businesses from investing in improvements. Carlos Burgos, trustee of the Pedro Achata Trust and chair of

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<sup>371</sup> Interview with Anonymous 2 (Carniceria Martinez).

<sup>372</sup> Interviews with Rickey Gill (Tottenham Wine), Carlos Burgos (Pedro Achata Trust) and Jill Oakley (Manager, Seven Sisters market).

the West Green Road/Seven Sisters Development Trust – like many others - felt that ‘it was very detrimental to keep people in that uncertainty and despite that the amount of money that Grainger claims the development will bring to the economy is less than the turnover at the moment that this place is bringing to the economy’.<sup>373</sup> Recognising the continuing economic value of existing activities at Wards Corner under such difficult conditions is one way in which the interviews began to re-inscribe local traders and businesses as active agents of the development and growth of the local economy.

The interviews conducted with market traders, businesses and other local actors also revealed a local economy specialised in meeting the needs of low-income and/or ethnically diverse communities in Tottenham and across London. In explaining to me how they tailored their goods and services to particular groups, proprietors expressed their pride and pleasure in this role and the knowledge and expertise it required. Ben Nyerende, proprietor of Ben Property Solutions, explained that 99 per cent of his customers were in receipt of housing benefit and/or waiting to be rehoused after becoming homeless, many of them referred to him by Haringey Council as the lettings agents on the high street couldn't help them.<sup>374</sup> He said, ‘we're here to help those who are vulnerable, those who can't help themselves. And the Council should be very proud of us’.<sup>375</sup> Moaz Nanjuwany, proprietor of Hammonds Eye Practice at 715 Seven Sisters Road, also differentiated the service he provided from those of major optician chains as being ‘good eye care’, which prioritised the medical needs of patients above the selling of glasses for maximum profit.<sup>376</sup> He explained that he particularly enjoyed providing this service in Tottenham, compared to his previous practice in Hampstead, because ‘the patients here, at the end of my exam... say “thank you”... I may not have made a lot of money here but I actually went home with a full heart’.<sup>377</sup>

Moaz Nanjuwany, like other proprietors, also explained how his business was specialised in meeting the needs of Tottenham's ethnically diverse communities. Rickey Gill explained that one of the reasons for Tottenham

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<sup>373</sup> Interview with Carlos Burgos (Pedro Achata Trust).

<sup>374</sup> Interview with Ben Nyerende (Ben Property Solutions).

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>376</sup> Interview with Moaz Nanjuwany (Hammonds Eye Practice and TTP).

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid.*

Wine's success was its specialisation in a large range of rums and brandies – including many high-end, outsize and speciality products - to meet the preferences of the Caribbean community.<sup>378</sup> One of proprietors of Cosmos newsagent, 1 West Green Road, also spoke passionately and movingly about how she and her husband had expanded their stock of greeting cards to reflect the ethnic diversity of local residents and never begrudged any customer for topping up an Oyster card with a very small amount of money.<sup>379</sup> Within Seven Sisters market, many restaurants, shops and hair and beauty salons are specialised in the goods and services demanded by London's large Latin American population, attracting customers from all over London as well as low-income residents in need of good quality, affordable food and a welcoming place to spend time.<sup>380</sup>

The interviews revealed the close relationship between commerce and community at Wards Corner and how it is further deepened by the many community advice services provided by many traders and other local actors from Seven Sisters market. These services are flourishing, dealing with a broad range of issues including housing, legal matters, domestic violence, business support, translation services and the integration and promotion of Latin Americans in London.<sup>381</sup> In some cases, such as the Pedro Achata Trust (focussed on raising the profile of Latin Americans in the UK) and Viva London Seven (focussed on providing legal and accountancy advice surgeries and referring to other organisations), services are provided free of charge by volunteers, making use of office space above market units or the public space of cafes and restaurants.<sup>382</sup> In other cases, traders charge for community services: for example, the small translation business set up by Mirca Morera (Latin Corner UK) within her father's video store, Videomania; a company set up by the owner of Hollywood hair salon to help Latin American businesses connect with the community; or the translation services provided to help traders

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<sup>378</sup> Interview with Rickey Gill (Tottenham Wine).

<sup>379</sup> RD 27/03/14.

<sup>380</sup> Interview with Anonymous 2 (Carniceria Martinez).

<sup>381</sup> Interviews with Anonymous 1 (Hollywood and Latin Town), Marta Hinestroza (Oasis Unisex Salon and Viva London Seven), Francisco Yunda and Mirca Morera (Videomania and Latin Corner UK), Carlos Burgos (Pedro Achata Trust), Anonymous 3 (Church of Christian Development) and Anonymous 4 (working for Jill Oakley, Seven Sisters market).

<sup>382</sup> Interviews with Carlos Burgos (Pedro Achata Trust) and Marta Hinestroza (Oasis Unisex Salon and Viva London Seven).

complete food hygiene certificates.<sup>383</sup> As such, Seven Sisters market can be seen as a place in which commerce and community are intimately entwined, enabling particular forms of market and non-market exchange to emerge and flourish, in which livelihoods can be supported and earned through provision of community advice services.

Several of the traders and other local actors I spoke to described the importance of Seven Sisters market as an actual and potential site of holistic social and economic development.<sup>384</sup> The co-proprietor of Carniceria Martinez explained how the market was a place both of work and leisure where working life was made more enjoyable through social interaction and which was welcoming to all, in particular to children. Three of the traders I spoke to became aware of the opportunity to take on a unit at Seven Sisters market through personal connections with others in the market.<sup>385</sup> For Carlos Burgos, Haringey Council had failed to understand both the economic and social value of the market, refusing to calculate the losses that would result if the Grainger plan was implemented as this would be too damaging to the scheme. As they explored the community plan for Wards Corner, ministers of a church with strong Latin American links reflected on the potential of the plan to facilitate a form of interconnected social and economic development that echoed a holistic understanding of spirituality, saying 'Seven Sisters becomes a site not only for commercial exchange but where culture could be strengthened and where social cooperation, family unity, recreation and people's interrelations can shine'.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>383</sup> Interviews with Francisco Yunda and Mirca Morera (Videomania and Latin Corner UK) and Anonymous 1 (Hollywood and Latin Town).

<sup>384</sup> Interviews with Marta Hinestroza (Oasis Unisex Salon and Viva London Seven), Anonymous 2 (Carniceria Martinez), Carlos Burgos (Pedro Achata Trust), Anonymous 3 (Church of Christian Development) and Jill Oakley (Manager of Seven Sisters Market).

<sup>385</sup> Interviews with Anonymous 1 (Hollywood and Latin Town), Francisco Yunda and Mirca Morera (Videomania and Latin Corner UK) and Anonymous 2 (Carniceria Martinez).

<sup>386</sup> Interview with Anonymous 3 (Church of Christian Development).

### 7.5.2 Market traders and businesses mobilise in support of the community plan



*Figure 7.2 Fabian Cataño (Restaurante Manantial) logs in to the Sticky World website to leave his comments on the community plan (left) while Manuel (La Esquina de Blanca) talks to some of his customers about the community plan and asks them to respond to the consultation. Source: Giota Alevizou, with permission.*

Several of the traders, businesses and other local actors to whom I spoke went on to mobilise their networks in order to demonstrate support for the community plan and secure planning permission. Several Latin American traders publicised the community plan through their business, religious and community networks and organised additional events.<sup>387</sup> The chairs of the TTP and the North East London branch of the Federation of Small Businesses, Moaz Nanjuwany and Raul Mancera, sought support from their organisations for the community plan.<sup>388</sup> The proprietor of one of the Latin American cafes in Seven Sisters market worked with me on a translation of WCC's material about the consultation on the community plan and the launch of the Sticky World model, which he said was essential to securing a strong response.<sup>389</sup> I then distributed several hundred copies of paper copies of the consultation form and launch

<sup>387</sup> Interviews with Anonymous 1 (Hollywood and Latin Town), Anonymous 3 (Church of Christian Development) and Carlos Burgos (Pedro Achata Trust).

<sup>388</sup> Interviews with Raul Mancera (Obsessions and NE London branch of the Federation of Small Businesses) and Moaz Nanjuwany (Hammonds Eye Practice and TTP); A3 12/11/14.

<sup>389</sup> RD 19/03/14.

flyer in English and Spanish amongst the traders, businesses and other local actors I spoke with.<sup>390</sup> Traders, businesses and other community members began to mobilise their customers and broader networks to respond to the consultation on the community plan (Figure 7.2), distributing and collecting consultation forms which WCC members then delivered to Haringey Council.<sup>391</sup>

At this point in WCC's long and demanding campaign, attendance at weekly meetings had dwindled to a small number of local residents, with traders and businesses being particularly poorly represented. Some traders I interviewed had therefore become uncertain about what WCC was and who it represented, identifying it as the residents' group.<sup>392</sup> In these cases, the interviews provided an opportunity to re-affirm to traders and businesses that they remained a part of and had a voice in the Coalition. All those I spoke to re-affirmed their commitment to WCC and their wish to be actively involved (except the market manager and her employee<sup>393</sup>). Several local residents commented that they felt energised by the enthusiasm of traders and businesses and their commitment to the market, the community plan and the campaign.<sup>394</sup>

The interviews began to open up a dialogue about how traders and businesses could be more actively involved in the work to deliver the community plan. Several people commented that language barriers made it hard to stay involved; there was also frustration and burn-out from attending many meetings over a long period of uncertainty and competing demands from busy working and family lives.<sup>395</sup> Others explained they had previously been actively involved but had been unable to maintain their involvement due to poor health or meetings clashing with busy periods at work.<sup>396</sup> Some traders suggested

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<sup>390</sup> A3 19/03/14 and 20/03/14; RD 21/03/14 and 24/03/14.

<sup>391</sup> A3 27/03/14; RD 21/03/14 and 27/03/14.

<sup>392</sup> Interview with Ben Nyerende (Ben Property Solutions).

<sup>393</sup> The market manager, Jill Oakley, had originally criticised the Council's development brief for Wards Corner, for its treatment of the market and the traders. While she accommodated traders' campaign meetings and events, and at times appeared sympathetic to their cause, she did not participate in their efforts to challenge the Grainger plan through WCC or Pueblito Paisa, and ultimately sold her short-term lease of the market to MAM, a market management company with links to Grainger, in September 2015 (Appendix 3).

<sup>394</sup> RD 24/03/14.

<sup>395</sup> Interviews with Ben Nyerende (Ben Property Solutions), Anonymous 1 (Hollywood and Latin Town), Raul Mancera (Obsessions and NE London branch of the Federation of Small Businesses), Anonymous 2 (Carniceria Martinez).

<sup>396</sup> Interviews with Carlos Burgos (Pedro Achata Trust), Moaz Nanjuwany (Hammonds Eye Practice and TTP) and Rickey Gill (Tottenham Wine).

disagreements within the market had also been a factor in the decline of both regular meetings amongst market traders and traders' participation in weekly WCC meetings.<sup>397</sup> In the course of discussions, traders and businesses made proposals for how to address some of these issues, including providing information about where and when meetings were occurring in advance, updating contact information on email lists, ensuring meetings led to action, rather than just being for discussion, and ideas for events led by traders.<sup>398</sup> Traders, businesses and other local actors also discussed how to advance the campaign to save Wards Corner, including formal dialogue with Grainger, developing the West Green Road/Seven Sisters Development Trust, building stronger links with the Latin American community and other local business campaign and representative groups.<sup>399</sup> These exchanges affirmed the importance of reconnecting WCC with the knowledge, resources and networks of traders and businesses.

Several traders and businesses joined local residents in organising, publicising and attending WCC's launch of Sticky World on 27 March 2014, one day before the end of the consultation on the community plan. The proprietors of one of the Latin American cafes in Seven Sisters market hosted the event at their nearby restaurant in Tottenham Hale. They prepared a spread of Colombian food (funded through the Open University's 'Creative Citizens' project) and Rickey Gill (Tottenham Wine) donated drinks. The community plan was introduced by a broad range of speakers, spanning the diversity of interests and cultures represented on the Wards Corner site, alongside local residents, the architect of the community plan and the creator of the Sticky World platform, with on-the-spot English-Spanish interpretation provided by one of the traders for the mixed audience. Paper consultation forms and laptops were also available at the event so that attendees could respond to the consultation and comment on the Sticky World model if they hadn't already. Reflecting on the event at a WCC meeting on 7 April, local residents and businesses commented on its success, highlighting in particular the large

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<sup>397</sup> Interviews with Anonymous 2 (Carniceria Martinez) and Raul Mancera (Obsessions and NE London branch of the Federation of Small Businesses); RD 17/03/14 and 27/03/14.

<sup>398</sup> Interviews with Ben Nyerende (Ben Property Solutions), Moaz Nanjuwany (Hammonds Eye Practice and TTP), Anonymous 1 (Hollywood and Latin Town), Marta Hinestroza (Oasis Unisex Salon and Viva London Seven), Carlos Burgos (Pedro Achata Trust) and Anonymous 2 (Carniceria Martinez); RD 21/03/14.

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*



number of people attending (estimated at 60), including many market traders, new faces and one Haringey councillor, as well as the Spanish-English interpretation.<sup>400</sup> In total, over 130 responses were submitted using the physical copy of the consultation form and 160 responses were submitted electronically (Haringey Council 2014d), as well as a report of the comments on the Sticky World site (Sticky World 2014). Shortly after the Sticky World event, some traders and businesses began attending WCC meetings again while others began to make more proactive use of their other networks, in particular TTP and the FSB.<sup>401</sup> The intensive interviews and business engagement work I and other WCC members carried out at this key strategic moment in the campaign therefore appeared to have had some success in mobilising traders and businesses to re-affirm their support for the community plan and the Coalition.

### *7.5.3 Building a community development vehicle amid intensifying threats*

Haringey Council's decision to award planning permission for the community plan on 25 April 2014 marked a major turning point in the long campaign to save Wards Corner. It was quickly followed by more good news that Haringey Council had approved the Coalition's application to list Wards Corner (the ground floor occupied by Seven Sisters market only) as an Asset of Community Value (ACV), giving the community certain rights to attempt to purchase the building should it come up for sale.<sup>402</sup> The success of the community plan attracted a diverse and much larger than usual group of around 20 people to a special meeting convened by WCC on 12 May 2014, including market traders, businesses and residents from the Wards Corner site itself, regular attendees of WCC's weekly meetings, previously active WCC members and local residents coming for the first time to find out more and get involved.<sup>403</sup> During the meeting, people raised many questions and ideas about what securing planning permission meant and what to do next.<sup>404</sup> WCC held two more small events during May which provided a space for the Coalition to celebrate their

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<sup>400</sup> A3 07/04/14 and RD 19/03/14.

<sup>401</sup> A3 07/04/14, 11/04/14, 22/04/14, 27/04/14, 10/05/14, 13/06/14 and 16/06/14 and 09/07/14; RD 07/04/14

<sup>402</sup> A3 26/04/14 and 02/05/14.

<sup>403</sup> A3 12/05/14.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*

unexpected and extraordinary success and to relax together after the long, hard efforts of recent years.<sup>405</sup>

At the same time, Grainger's development plans continued to pose a threat to market traders, small businesses and residents at Wards Corner. While the WCC and the Trust community plan had planning permission, Grainger still had planning permission for its redevelopment plans and remained the preferred developer of Haringey Council.<sup>406</sup> The Council had already stated its willingness to use its powers compulsorily to purchase land from any land owners who refused to sell voluntarily. Some WCC members therefore feared that the success of the community plan would prompt Haringey Council quickly to initiate the CPO process, in order to facilitate the Grainger development.<sup>407</sup> By comparison, WCC and the Trust received no support from the Council for their own efforts to secure a long lease of the Wards building from its owners, London Underground Limited. The threat from Grainger became more complex still when Haringey Council decided to sell the neighbouring site, Apex House (marked on Figure 7.1), to Grainger in July 2014. At the time, although the Council ran various services from the building, it decided to declare it surplus to requirements in order to release the site for a 'landmark' or 'iconic' building to facilitate its regeneration plans for Seven Sisters, the 'gateway' to Tottenham (Haringey Council 2014e). Haringey Council was not only committed to selling a large and valuable piece of public land directly to Grainger but also raised the possibility of relocating market traders displaced from Wards Corner within a new development at Apex House. This prospect was not welcomed by Seven Sisters market traders nor WCC more broadly; they remained committed to the community plan for restoring the Wards building. Despite securing planning permission, WCC, the Trust, El Pueblito Paisa Ltd and other local organisations continued to face the demands and pressures of immediate and multiple threats which distracted them from the longer-term work of delivering the community plan.<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> A3 25/05/14.

<sup>406</sup> Under the planning system in England and Wales, it is possible for a local planning authority to give planning permission to more than one proposal for a single site.

<sup>407</sup> A3 27/05/14 and 16/06/14.

<sup>408</sup> RD 16/07/14.

Nonetheless, WCC made some progress during this time in working towards delivering the community plan. The Coalition held a special monthly meeting targeted at market traders and businesses after several people said they could not come to meetings each week.<sup>409</sup> Additional meetings were also held to explore options for funding and governance arrangements, which were also attended by a larger and more diverse group than the usual weekly WCC meetings, including market traders and local businesses.<sup>410</sup> Limited capacity and resources meant that WCC struggled to sustain and further develop these activities, however.<sup>411</sup> WCC therefore took up an offer of help from two OT activists, Yvonne Field (Ubele Initiative) and Philip Udeh (Community Builders), who facilitated a series of four workshops during August 2014.<sup>412</sup> These workshops were focussed on helping WCC bring strategic focus to its activities and increase the involvement of residents, traders and businesses, in particular Latin American and BME groups, at this key moment in the campaign.<sup>413</sup> Much of the discussions centred on the relationship between the Coalition and the Trust, how the Trust would represent the different groups and interests involved and how to ensure a proper participatory process without compromising or delaying this complex and technical project.<sup>414</sup> Although WCC's summer workshops made some progress in defining some of the key issues to be resolved, illness and commitments elsewhere meant that the four Latin American traders and community leaders who had set up the Trust in 2008 - Carlos Burgos, Victoria Alvarez, Raul Mancera and Lagu Sukumaran - had not been able to attend and few other traders and businesses had participated.

After the workshops facilitated by Yvonne Field and Philip Udeh, WCC attempted to progress strategic discussions about how to deliver the community plan through its weekly meetings. During September and October 2014, the Coalition worked on developing a roadmap for further work on the community plan, identifying themes such as governance, delivery partners, stakeholder engagement, funding, and skills and knowledge, as well as other aspects of WCC's broader campaigning role, including Grainger's plans for Apex House

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<sup>409</sup> A3 27/05/14, 30/05/14 and 02/06/14.

<sup>410</sup> A3 09/06/14 and 30/06/14; RD 10/06/14.

<sup>411</sup> A3 09/06/14.

<sup>412</sup> A3 18/07/14 and RD 18/07/14.

<sup>413</sup> A3 22/07/14.

<sup>414</sup> A3 04/08/14, 11/08/14 and 18/08/14.

and Wards Corner and fundraising for outstanding legal fees.<sup>415</sup> There was little capacity amongst those present, however, to progress these issues, and many questions remained about the role of the Coalition in relation to the Trust. At the same time, the Trustees and other market traders and businesses continued to be poorly represented at meetings. Recognising that additional resources would be needed both in order to progress the complex and technical work in working towards delivering the community plan and to improve involvement of the Trustee and Wards Corner traders and businesses, a WCC member and I prepared a funding application to Locality's small grants programme for funding for a community development worker.<sup>416</sup> We intended that the paid worker would convene a series of discussions and meetings with all involved, producing a set of recommendations for how to 'embed and further broaden diverse participation and representation in the development trust as it moves forward... feed[ing] into future funding applications and projects to be pursued by the development trust and inform its emerging governance arrangements'.<sup>417</sup> While this funding application was not accepted, producing it clarified that WCC and the Trust needed further resources to progress the complex work needed to deliver the community plan in an inclusive manner and motivated me and other WCC members to develop two further funding applications, the second of which was accepted.

In parallel, WCC held an event at Seven Sisters market as part of OT's community empowerment week in October 2014, providing further opportunities to broaden and progress discussions about delivering the community plan. In September, a local resident and I visited the market to talk to traders about the event, several of whom proposed ideas and offered help and re-affirmed their commitment to delivering the community plan.<sup>418</sup> These discussions generated ideas about how the event might showcase Wards Corner and its potential, increase awareness about the community plan and involve people in the work of developing the Trust.<sup>419</sup> For instance, in order to address the lack of visibility of the market from the street and to help orientate and welcome newcomers to the many enterprises inside, several local residents worked with market traders

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<sup>415</sup> A3 08/09/14.

<sup>416</sup> A3 26/09/14.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>418</sup> RD 05/09/14.

<sup>419</sup> A3 15/09/14 and 22/09/14; RD 05/09/14.

to produce a basic map of the different enterprises within the market.<sup>420</sup> The Coalition organised several activities inside the market in order to draw people inside, such as a design competition for children, an exhibition about the community plan and refreshments donated by some of the market traders.<sup>421</sup> Outside the market, stalls, activities and speeches were used to communicate the diverse assets that could be given space to grow if the community plan was realised, including a temporary bike repair stall run by the Rockstone Foundation and a dance display by the Colombian dance group, Talentos (also shown in Figure 1.1).<sup>422</sup> Importantly, the event opened up discussions with the Trustees about the role of the Trust and how to develop it.<sup>423</sup> All four trustees confirmed they wished to continue in their roles and Victoria Alvarez and the chair, Carlos Burgos, played a prominent role in the event itself.<sup>424</sup> Both were very happy about how the event had gone and planned further discussions about how to develop the Trust, firstly amongst themselves and then with the broader Coalition.<sup>425</sup>

The Trust and the broader Coalition then met on 28 October 2014 in order to discuss the second funding application which I and other WCC members had prepared on behalf of the Trust. This application was for pre-feasibility funding, focussing on capacity building, communications, expanding the Trust, community engagement and reviewing and developing the initial business plan and costings in order to attract further funding. As part of the discussions, the chair of the Trust set out his vision for the Trust to the broader Coalition. He explained that the Trust was concerned with the whole West Green Road/Seven Sisters town centre but aimed to deliver the community plan for the Wards building as its first project.<sup>426</sup> He confirmed that the Trust's ability to deliver the community plan would depend upon ongoing support and solidarity between traders, businesses, residents and others. At the meeting, the local residents, market traders, businesses and supporters asked the Chair about how the Trust would work in practice - in particular about membership, accountability, transparency and funding – something which they were keen to

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<sup>420</sup> A3 22/09/14.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>422</sup> A3 15/09/14, 17/09/14 and 22/09/14.

<sup>423</sup> A3 22/09/14.

<sup>424</sup> A3 22/09/14 and 26/09/14.

<sup>425</sup> A3 13/10/14.

<sup>426</sup> A3 28/10/14.

progress in order to get started on delivering the community plan. These questions were not resolved at the meeting itself but were important in beginning a dialogue between the Trustees and local residents, market traders and businesses about how to move from campaigning into community-led development at Wards Corner.

Although this meeting marked the end-point for my research, I continued to actively work towards delivering the community plan until February 2016. I focused my efforts and resources on volunteering for the Trust, including by organising a series of meetings between the Trust and local residents, market traders and local businesses during Spring 2015 and then developing a third funding proposal which was successful (see Appendix 3).<sup>427</sup> Intensifying and multiplying threats associated with the Grainger development continued to obstruct progress, however, as the limited resources of WCC, the Trust, El Pueblito Paisa Ltd and Latin Corner UK<sup>428</sup> were channeled into efforts to defend Wards Corner and Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa on multiple fronts. While these groups have continued effectively to mobilise their various networks and support one another at key strategic moments, they have made little progress towards building a single community development vehicle to progress the complex and technical long-term work to deliver the community plan. If the fight to challenge Haringey Council's decision to use CPO powers to facilitate the Grainger development is successful, however, it will leave traders, businesses, residents and their supporters with significant new knowledge, resources, networks and solidarities with which to pursue community-led development at Wards Corner.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has revealed how the threat of displacement of small businesses and market traders is mobilising residents, community, campaign and small business groups to form alliances across Tottenham. Haringey's higher targets

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<sup>427</sup> I went on to apply for and obtain a small paid part time role (six days in total during 2015/2016) as part of this 'First Steps' project to produce an action plan to guide the Trust's work (see Appendix 3).

<sup>428</sup> Latin Corner UK is a social enterprise set up to publicise Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa as a Latin Village by Mirca Morera, daughter of Francisco Yunda (Videomania), one of the market traders. Mirca Morera and Latin Corner UK have become increasingly active as the threat to Wards Corner intensified in recent years.

for new jobs and homes, introduced by the Mayor of London (2014a) through the FALP, have further increased the pressure introduced by the post-riots Plan for Tottenham (Haringey Council 2012) to achieve a total transformation in Tottenham's economy. These plans played an important role in motivating the formation of the Our Tottenham network in the first place and, as they evolved into an emerging statutory planning framework, provided a focus for OTLE's subsequent discussions and activities. However, while OTLE aimed to challenge the dominance of the Major Landowners and Businesses group in shaping and delivering these plans, it remained far too small and poorly resourced to do so in practice. Nonetheless, those few local traders and businesses which did participate in OTLE benefited from and valued the knowledge and solidarity they and residents shared. Through iterative discussions, OTLE participants began to build a shared understanding of the local economy and a vision of local economic development centred on the strengths and needs of existing diverse economic actors.

Grainger's development proposals for Wards Corner had both a mobilising and debilitating effect on market traders, small businesses, local residents and their supporters. In April 2014, WCC and the Trust received the extraordinary news that their alternative community plan for Wards Corner had been given planning permission by Haringey Council. Having produced evidence and mobilised support for the plan, WCC, the Trust, Pueblito Paisa, Latin Corner UK, TTP, FSB and the various other groups and interests involved then faced the difficult challenge of moving from multiple loosely but strategically interconnected campaigns to the very different task of pursuing a community-led development. As in the case of the Carpenters Community Plan group, the case of Wards Corner emphasises the importance and difficulty of building alliances amongst different groups and interests (see also Edwards 2010b, Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2007, Marcuse 2009, Mayer 2007, Wills 2008, 2009 and 2012). From my position as an active member of WCC, I focussed my efforts and energies on progressing discussions with traders, businesses and the Trustees about how to develop the Trust, building on the connections and knowledge I had gained through interviews and time spent in Seven Sisters market. While some progress was made during the period of my research, the ongoing threat of the Grainger development has continued to

fragment and frustrate the efforts of residents, traders, businesses and supporters. I remain open minded and alert to the possibility that Haringey Council and Grainger may yet fail the final test of the CPO enquiry, finally opening the door to community-led development at Wards Corner and Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa that recognises and responds to its unique economic and community value.



## 8 Conclusions

### 8.1 Bringing a focus on political mobilisation to diverse and community economies research

This thesis has made a significant contribution to diverse and community economies research by exploring the role of political mobilisation in the emergence of alternative economic ideas and initiatives. Diverse and community economies research has faced criticism for being ‘top-down’, using a set of ideas and tools designated by the research team to create new economic subjects, rather than learning from and working with the ideas, tools and initiatives of already-existing, new and emerging mobilisations of diverse economic actors (Harney *et al* 2016, Gibson-Graham 2006a). Relatedly, several community economy participatory action research projects have run into problems when, for example, local state actors withdrew promises of financial and/or policy support or the alternative projects fizzled out or failed to develop (Cameron and Gibson 2005a and 2005b, Gibson-Graham 2005). This illustrates the need to build power and resources, as well as new language, subjectivities and propositions, if such initiatives are effectively to challenge dominant ideas and interests. Issues of power, conflict and struggle have received little attention within diverse and community economies research so far, however (Frenzel and Beverungen 2015, Gibson-Graham 2006a, Gritzas and Kavoulakos 2016, Jonas 2013). By contrast, this thesis has made contestation its central focus, exploring the role of conflict with dominant approaches in motivating and shaping interconnected processes of building new economic language, subjectivities and possibilities for alternative economic development.

The economic politics identified, explored and extended through this thesis are rooted in contemporary struggles over workspace in London. As London’s growth pressures accelerated under Boris Johnson’s Mayoralty, its reservoir of low-cost workspace has served as an important temporary release valve, encouraged and facilitated by a series of deregulatory measures introduced at national, metropolitan and local level. The pressure on London’s reservoir of low-cost workspace has made small businesses, industrial firms, migrant and ethnic minority retailers, market traders and community and social

enterprises particularly vulnerable to displacement. While the extension of London's escalating housing crisis into a workspace crisis threatens the diversity of its economy, it has also begun to motivate diverse economic actors to join supporters and allies in challenging and developing alternatives to plans and development proposals that ignore, marginalise or threaten to displace them. These workspace struggles have driven and influenced new economic narratives, building solidarity and common ground and possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development in London.

The new narratives about London's diverse economy explored in this thesis reflect the knowledge and experiences of the small businesses, industrial firms, migrant and ethnic minority retailers, market traders, community and social enterprises and their supporters and allies who mobilised around the threat of displacement. For example, new threats to industrial and retail workspace posed by proposals from the Mayor of London (2014a) mobilised several small business groups to participate in the Just Space Economy and Planning group (JSEP). The extent of this mobilisation made it possible for JSEP to develop a strategic narrative about the role and contribution of diverse economic activities in industrial areas, high streets and town centres throughout London, communicating not only their size and strength in terms of numbers of businesses, jobs and connections to other activities and sectors but also their contribution to social and environmental goals in reducing the need to travel between home and work. Similarly, the Carpenters Community Plan group and Wards Corner Community Coalition (WCC) sought to challenge, respectively, University College London's (UCL's) and Grainger's neglect of existing economic activities by finding ways to articulate their particular strengths, specialisms and value. Interviews with threatened businesses and traders revealed previously hidden clusters of construction-related firms, artists' studios and start-up firms on the Carpenters Estate and, at Wards Corner, a resilient, entrepreneurial and community-oriented local economy specialised in providing goods and services to ethnically-diverse and low-income populations. These new economic narratives extended beyond narrow conceptions of the economy by tracing connections between the role and contribution of ignored, marginalised and threatened economic activities and a wide range of social and

environmental outcomes.

While individuals and groups were already mobilising around the threat of displacement, their efforts were affirmed, strengthened and amplified through encounter with others engaged in similar struggles. Connecting Latin Elephant, Peckham Vision and other campaign groups across London enabled them to learn from and support each other, placing their specific experiences in relation to JSEP's emerging strategic narrative about the threat posed to diverse economic activities by London's escalating workspace crisis. Members of JSEP, the Newham Network and the Our Tottenham Local Economy working group (OTLE) relied upon and valued each other's expertise and support in participating in the technical, complex and lengthy consultation and Examination in Public (EiP) process for finalising metropolitan and local planning documents. In the case of the Carpenters Community Plan group and WCC, local residents felt emboldened and empowered when they learnt from traders and businesses about their negative experiences of development schemes, the strengths of the local economy and their commitment to alternative community plans. Through meetings, events and activities organised by JSEP, the Carpenters Community Plan group, the Newham Network, OTLE and WCC, these diverse economic actors built common ground and solidarity with one another. These 'solidarity subjectivities' were rooted in their shared struggles against (the threat of) displacement to secure their role and contribution to London's economy and its future development.

These new economic narratives and solidarity subjectivities opened up new possibilities for alternatives to emerge. Residents and firms from the Carpenters Estate developed their own community plan, while WCC gained planning permission for their proposals to restore and enhance Seven Sisters Market/Pueblito Paisa. JSEP and the Newham Network secured small but not insignificant policy changes to the London Plan, requiring local authorities to consider 'the economic benefits of diversity' in their management of town centres (Mayor of London 2016 p150), and to the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) local plan, clarifying that new developments and investments were intended to benefit local businesses and residents. Starting from the knowledge, experiences and solidarity shared amongst participants, all

groups developed and pursued alternative visions and propositions for urban economic development in which the needs and goals of diverse economic actors were connected.

The Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network developed a vision of 'healthy growth' of the existing local economy - what JSEP called 'the economy we have' - a form of growth which they felt could include and benefit them by generating new opportunities which they could access and to which they could contribute. Retaining, protecting and expanding London's remaining reservoir of low-cost workspace and recognising the right of existing businesses to remain in the area and play a part in its future development were central to the alternative visions developed. Other propositions included developing social and community enterprise; local supply chains and local procurement; local jobs, training and education targets; and links between businesses and education and training colleges. In the case of WCC, the knowledge and connections gained through interviews with market traders and local businesses provided a starting point for building a community-led development vehicle to deliver the community plan, as well as for continuing to fight the Grainger development on several fronts. Some Carpenters businesses also helped to set up the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum, building on the community planning process. The knowledge and relationships built across London through JSEP produced a proliferation of activities and initiatives extending well beyond its original focus on the London Plan EiP. Encounter and conflict with plans and development proposals which threaten economic diversity has therefore generated ideas, resources and capacity for progressing more inclusive, alternative approaches to economic development in London.

Of course, as the thesis has shown, London's workspace crisis has not only driven and shaped but also constrained and limited these unfolding and interconnected processes of developing new economic language, becoming new economic subjects and pursuing alternative economic experiments. While Gibson-Graham's language of economic diversity extends across capitalist, non-capitalist and alternative capitalist activities, the new economic narratives which emerged from London's workspace struggles were more limited,

reflecting the mobilisation of sectors and interests ignored, marginalised or threatened by proposed plans and developments. While these businesses formed common ground and solidarity with the residents, community and campaign groups which supported and valued them, conflicts and differences amongst different sectors, groups and interests were not confronted or resolved. Relatedly, the emphasis on challenging plans and development proposals sometimes distracted these emerging economic alliances from investing their limited time and resources in developing their organisational capacity and building power. While they were able to mobilise strongly in solidarity with one another at key strategic moments – such as demonstrations and the EiP – they often appeared more conflicted and fragile in their everyday activities. Further, while new knowledge, resources and possibilities were opened up through the process of challenging plans and development proposals threatening economic diversity, the demands of these processes also threatened to distract groups from their broader goals for alternative economic development in London. This thesis has therefore shown that while alternative economic ideas and initiatives can emerge through conflict and encounter with dominant approaches, they may also be constrained and limited by them.

## **8.2 Seeing London's economy from the perspective of diverse economic actors and their struggles over economic value**

The thesis has engaged not only with diverse and community economies research but also with urban research and policy. By bringing into view the new and emerging mobilisations of diverse economic actors described in the previous section, it has been able to offer a new perspective on London's diverse and contested economy. These mobilisations further extend and expand the sites of contestation and struggle over London's evolving global city growth model identified through policy analysis and interviews in Chapter 3. Seeing London's economy from the perspective of diverse economic actors and their struggles over economic value, both within and beyond the formal space of the EiP, reveals previously hidden and ignored sites of political debate.

In Chapter 3, I began to open up space for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development in London by focussing on sites

and instances of conflict and struggle in its evolving global city growth model. I emphasised that the global/world city model embedded in the Greater London Authority (GLA) by Mayor Ken Livingstone was challenged from the start, not only in academic circles but also in policy debates through the consultation and EiP process required to finalise metropolitan and local plans. The EiP process provides opportunities for civic participation in planning that exceed those available in other metropolitan policy areas, mobilising significant London-wide networking, campaigns, projects and initiatives, not only in and beyond but also *changing* these formal spaces of participation (Brown *et al* 2014, Edwards 2000 and 2010b, Lipietz *et al* 2014). Building on this body of work, this thesis has argued that the formal requirement to test the evidence base underpinning the planning framework has revealed a site of contestation which community and small business groups have exploited in order to open up debate on alternative approaches to urban economic development in London.

The diversity of London's economy has been particularly poorly represented in the economic evidence base underpinning the London Plan. Together with the GLA's population projections, the employment projections are central to the London Plan because they inform targets for delivery of new housing and workspace to meet additional demand. These projections fail to capture the importance of economic diversity by, for example, paying no attention to interactions between sectors, the emergence of new sectors or the limitations of projecting historic trends. In addition, the urban growth models and associated statistics used by GLA Economics to identify the predicted growth focus on a narrow sub-set of international specialisms, missing the role and importance of London's diverse economy to its long-term success and resilience. At the same time, the thesis revealed increasing interest within the GLA's Regeneration unit in undertaking local economy studies of industrial areas, high streets and town centres (e.g. GLA 2014e). There therefore appears to be a disconnection between the diversity of London's economy – increasingly recognised by the GLA's Regeneration unit – and the view of London's economy generated by GLA Economics which informs the London Plan as well as other Mayoral strategies.

Using the notion of economic performativity (Barnes 2008, Callon 1998, Christophers 2011 and 2014), this thesis has argued that the economic evidence base underpinning plans and development proposals not only plays a role in bringing London's global city growth model into being but is also a site of struggle for alternative, more inclusive modes of economic development. The notion of the performativity of economics powerfully reveals the political nature of economic language, models and metrics, challenging the idea of economics as a rational, technical science outside social and political decision-making. Christophers (2014) has suggested that critical urban researchers might make use of the notion of economic performativity to expose the role of economic models in bringing into being dominant approaches to urban development. This thesis supports and further extends Christophers' suggestion, arguing that a wider view of economic performativity can usefully reveal hidden or dismissed terrains of contestation over dominant economic models.

In this case, an intensifying struggle over economic value is found to be taking place both within and beyond the confines of the EiP. While there had been concerns that the growth assumptions underpinning previous versions of the London Plan had been substantially inflated in order to make the case to central Government for further investment in infrastructure (Buck et al 2002, Gordon 2003), these concerns were much more widely spread in 2010 due to the financial crisis and the government's austerity programme (Gordon 2010). The Just Space network challenged the GLA's employment projections and argued for a range of alternative growth scenarios to be considered, seeking to progress a 'radical strategy to deal with the economic and environmental crisis through the pursuit of broadly defined growth of social output' (Edwards 2010b np). While their efforts did not result in changes to the London Plan or the global city growth model underpinning it, they succeeded in keeping open a space to debate questions about where growth will come from, whether this sort of growth is desirable and, ultimately, what London's economy is for.

This terrain of contestation over the economic evidence base underpinning the London Plan intensified as diverse economic actors entered into strategic planning debates that were previously dominated by the financial services industry and the real estate sector. London's escalating workspace

crisis played an important role in mobilising diverse economic actors, significantly strengthening JSEP's capacity to engage in the consultation and EiP on the Mayor's proposed Further Alterations to the London Plan (FALP). JSEP not only challenged GLA Economics' employment projections but also the retail and industrial land reviews carried out to inform policies to release 'surplus' workspace for high-density housing development. This thesis has shown that these studies tend to rely on a property development perspective to assess future demand and supply, rather than the perspectives of workspace users. As in the case of the GLA's urban growth models and employment projections, the existing diverse economic activities taking place in industrial areas, high streets and town centres across London are not actually presented or analysed.

At a local level, the Newham Network and OTLE encountered similar problems with the economic evidence base. Although it was encouraging that the LLDC had undertaken quantitative and qualitative studies which revealed the strength of existing industrial activities across a range of emerging and more established sectors, its employment land review continued to project forward historic rates of decline, justifying further release of 'surplus' industrial land. Similarly, Haringey Council's emerging Area Action Plan for Tottenham proposed releasing 'surplus' industrial workspace for housing, steering developers towards higher job density office and mixed use developments instead of hybrid or industrial uses, in an attempt to meet higher targets for new homes *and* jobs introduced through the FALP. Despite contradictory evidence of strong demand for re-use of existing industrial workspace, Haringey Council's employment land review continued to project forward past trends of industrial decline.

To challenge the economic evidence base underpinning the metropolitan and local plans they faced, JSEP, the Newham Network and OTLE assembled evidence of the role and contribution of ignored, marginalised or threatened diverse economic activities. Participants developed their arguments and evidence in detailed consultation responses and written statements, informed by discussions in successive meetings and events, before coming face-to-face with planning officers, the independent Planning Inspector and other



participants when they gave oral evidence at the EiP itself. By being physically present in the EiP, community and small businesses groups inserted themselves into the debate, powerfully communicating their role and contribution and asserting their determination to participate in debates about the future of London's economy as political actors.

Overwhelmingly, however, community and small business groups had little success in persuading London's planners to think differently about London's economy within the formal participatory space of the EiP. JSEP participants encountered a particularly hostile and dismissive Planning Inspector who tightly constrained the matters for debate and had little interest in hearing evidence and examples from different groups and individuals. He dismissed JSEP's argument that the diversity of London's economy was threatened by the FALP as a 'local' matter for the boroughs rather than a 'strategic' matter for the London Plan. Neither did the GLA officers accept JSEP's argument that London did not have a surplus of industrial and retail workspace, rejecting available evidence in favour of the long-term projections provided by their models. While the Newham Network faced a more open framework for debate - thanks not only to the whole LLDC local plan being presented for examination but also to the more responsive and open approach of the Inspector – here too community and small business groups came up against the very ideas and interests they were seeking to challenge.

Nevertheless, many participants felt affirmed, empowered, strengthened and emboldened by their experiences, going on to make use of them in other spaces and initiatives. Particularly significant in this context is GLA Economics' invitation to JSEP for a regular series of discussions on the new Economic Evidence Base document being produced for the next London Plan.<sup>429</sup> In September 2015, at the first of these meetings, the head of GLA Economics stated that it had been clear at the EiP, as well as more generally, that while input and feedback was easy to get from established bodies, this was not the case with other groups and interests.<sup>430</sup> These discussions have already resulted in greater (albeit still inadequate) recognition of the importance of

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<sup>429</sup> Nerida Devane (GLA), personal communication, 14 August 2015.

<sup>430</sup> Notes of meeting, 24 September 2015.

economic diversity to London's long-term economic success and resilience within GLA Economics' (2016) new Economic Evidence Base.<sup>431</sup>

Although many of these insights have therefore already been put to work in different forms in consultations and EiPs as well as in community meetings, events and publications, the thesis provides a further opportunity to contribute to contemporary urban policy debates. By offering further evidence of the role and contribution of diverse economic activities to a range of economic and social goals in London, the thesis supports and strengthens suggestions that its strategies and plans should be grounded in an understanding of London's diverse economy (Buck *et al* 2002, Edwards 2010a, Gordon 2006, Just Space 2009, Massey 2001). It also adds to the evidence that this economic diversity is, however, being increasingly threatened by its escalating workspace crisis (see also Ferm 2014 and 2016, Ferm and Jones 2015 and 2016).

There is now a strong argument for reversing recent policy changes which have made it easier to convert workspace to housing, reducing targets for industrial land release, increasing the level of protection afforded to industrial land by the London Plan and improving monitoring to address the problem of excessive industrial land loss above the targets set in the Plan. Going further, new policies could be introduced to afford some protection to low-cost workspace against the pressure of housing development throughout London, in particular in high streets and town centres to encourage polycentric economic development. In cases where redevelopment is necessary, strong rights should be included for existing businesses to return to new developments, with long-term affordable rents, secure leases and suitable units. The London Plan could require local authorities to do more to recognise and respond to the role and contribution of existing economic activities, for example, by requiring a local business audit as part of local planning frameworks and new development proposals. It should be stressed, however, that such changes are unlikely to be secured unless diverse economic actors can continue to mobilise with their supporters and allies to build power and resources to challenge dominant economic sectors, interests and ideas and bring alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development into being.

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<sup>431</sup> Jessica Ferm, personal communication, 26 May 2017.

Contrary to the narratives of London as a global or world city that dominate urban research and policy, this thesis has revealed London's global city growth model to be uncertain, unstable, partial and provisional, subject to contestation and struggle. The notion of economic performativity has been used to explore not only the role of the economic evidence base underpinning metropolitan and local plans in bringing London's global city growth model into being, but also its potential and limits as site of a struggle over economic value. The political mobilisation approach to diverse/community economies research described in the previous section has brought a wide range of previously hidden or ignored economic sectors, groups and interests into the frame of analysis (significant exceptions being Hall 2015b and Raco and Tunney 2010), making it possible to explore the role of such diverse economic actors in urban development processes and their politics in London. The diverse economic actors mobilised by London's workspace crisis to enter into strategic planning debates for the first time have significantly strengthened, extended and expanded the sites of contestation and struggle initially identified in this thesis through policy analysis and interviews. In this way, starting from diversity and contestation has opened up new perspectives on London's economy.

While London's place in dominant global/world city narratives makes me wary of making too strong a claim about the relevance of this thesis to other places, it is, in fact, already entwined with urban scholarship which has emerged from elsewhere. In this case, I used research emerging from poorer cities in the global South on city strategies and plans as sites of conflict and contestation, diverse and informal economies and street trader struggles (amongst other things) to make more space for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development in London. The thesis therefore provides an example of how researchers can allow insights from elsewhere to open up new perspectives on particular case studies, connecting places and fields of research which have previously been kept separate (Robinson 2002, 2011 and 2016). As urban scholars work to move beyond the constraints of the global/world city view, they can refer to London's diverse economic actors and their struggles over economic value revealed through this thesis in order to

make more room to think about alternative approaches to urban economic development elsewhere.

### **8.3 Towards a radical strategy for bringing alternative urban worlds into being: embedding critical urban research in contestation**

The academic contributions outlined in the previous two sections were made possible by the specific praxis I developed in the course of undertaking PhD research. In Chapter 4 I introduced my praxis as method, as an approach which emerged through the process of getting involved, developing and pursuing specific collaborative research projects and withdrawing in order to produce an individual academic thesis. I situated my praxis in relation to different approaches to combining activism with research – individual, collective and collaborative – which I identified within the academic literature, arguing that it involved all three at different stages of the research process and with different groups. In Chapters 5 to 7, I then analysed the processes of contestation made visible through this method. In this section, I move beyond the chronology of the research process and divides between theory and method in order to more precisely conceptualise my praxis. I identify three specific activities I developed and made use of in this study - everyday organising work, action-oriented interviewing and embedded critical engagement - which I conceptualise as part of a broader strategy for bringing alternative urban worlds into being by embedding critical urban research in contestation and struggle.

Everyday organising work to mobilise diverse economic actors was at the heart of my praxis, the starting point from which other possibilities for research and activism could be explored and pursued. This work was fundamentally concerned with making connections and building relationships through a wide range of everyday activities, including identifying contacts, making links, building relationships, sharing information, organising meetings and events and facilitating discussions. While in every case community and small business groups were beginning to mobilise around contested plans and development proposals before my involvement, I identified and involved many diverse economic actors through my organising work. As I supported and strengthened

these emerging mobilisations through my everyday organising work, so I have sought to amplify them in this thesis.

The second element of my praxis, action-oriented interviewing, offers an alternative to traditional detached interviewing, producing knowledge which is shared amongst collaborators and embedded in and oriented towards ongoing contestations and struggles. In this study, action-oriented interviews produced new narratives about the role and contribution of diverse economic activities which could not only be analysed in this thesis but also used by community and small business groups to advance their goals and concerns, strengthening their efforts to challenge proposed plans and developments and to develop and pursue alternatives. These were powerful and exciting processes of discovery and connection, in which previously ignored, marginalised and threatened diverse economic actors affirmed their desire to remain in the area, contribute to its future development, forge alliances with residents and community groups and mobilise their own networks and resources.

The third element of my praxis was embedded critical engagement, which I define as making use of core academic skills in critical analysis and writing to support, strengthen and amplify ongoing contestations and struggles. In this case, my embedded critical engagement aimed to support diverse economic actors to engage more effectively and powerfully with complex and technical planning processes by, for example, summarising proposed plans and underpinning economic analyses, identifying issues of concern, gathering together the knowledge and expertise shared in meetings, finding academic evidence which supported it, drafting consultation responses, providing on-the-spot support and information during EiPs and, on occasion, giving evidence myself. Using my skills of critical analysis and writing in this way not only directly supported and strengthened the efforts of diverse economic actors to participate in strategic planning debates but also contributed to opening up a more expansive and powerful terrain of contestation and struggle for analysis within this thesis.

Through these activities, my own way of relating to London's economy changed with and through the new connections, knowledge and possibilities I

built with others. As I worked to identify and draw diverse economic actors into new relations with each other through everyday organising activities, my own way of relating to London's economy changed with and through the new knowledge and connections I built with others. Through action-oriented interviews and subsequent businesses engagement work with ignored, marginalised and threatened diverse economic actors, I shared in powerful and exciting processes of discovery, connection and becoming. And, as I worked with residents and firms to challenge and develop alternatives to the plans and development proposals they faced, I personally encountered the opportunities and the limits for political debate on economic issues afforded by the consultation and EiP process. As successive attempts to challenge plans and proposals were rebuffed, I worked with others to reformulate our critique along new lines, feeling for the remaining cracks and contradictions, searching for further evidence and making new connections as the process advanced. The critical analysis presented in this thesis has therefore been formed in and through my involvement in the contestations it describes.

Retaining some connection and involvement with these ongoing contestations and struggles was important in keeping me alert to openings and possibilities that continued to develop and unfold beyond the limited timeframe of my PhD research project, as summarised in Appendix 3. While I did eventually manage to draw a line under my 'fieldwork' at the end of October 2014 (Section 4.6), I undertook further activities and remained in contact with all groups<sup>432</sup>. I frequently stepped back from closing down my analysis too quickly when I learnt of a new policy announcement, participated in a new initiative or simply had a conversation with someone that caused me to think again. Although my own frustration and disappointment about a failure to secure policy changes or to mobilise sufficient resources to put ideas into action sometimes led me to blame myself or others, hearing about unexpected developments and

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<sup>432</sup> Most significantly, I secured a £1,000 grant from UCL's Public Engagement Unit which, together with additional funding from Just Space and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), enabled me to work with other members of JSEP to produce *London for all! A handbook for community and small business groups fighting to retain workspace for London's diverse economies*, gathering together the knowledge and relationships built through JSEP's initial activities for a broader audience (see insert inside back cover). I also continued to work actively to develop the West Green Road/Seven Sisters Development Trust towards delivering the community plan for Wards Corner, as a member of WCC, as a volunteer with the Trust and - for a total of six days in 2015/16 - as a paid self-employed community worker on the Trust's 'First Steps' project.

the emergence of new groups and initiatives has helped me to move towards a more open and generous stance. My experiences suggest that building longer-term partnerships with business, community and activist groups (Harney *et al* 2016, Wills 2012 and 2014) may offer the additional benefit of a longer-term perspective on the possibilities and potential arising from any specific, time-limited collaboration.

Coming together with market traders, local businesses and residents and their allies and supporters to celebrate and defend Wards Corner and Seven Sisters market/Pueblito Paisa at the Salsa and Samba Shutdown on 8 April 2017 and then acting as expert witness at the public enquiry into Haringey Council's proposal to use its Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) powers to facilitate the Grainger development in July 2017 (M. Taylor 2016 and 2017; Appendix 1, Part Cii), while I was making the final revisions to this thesis, was particularly helpful in reconnecting me with the power and potential of these connections and relationships. Like the human chain which formed around Wards Corner on that day, these new and emerging mobilisations of diverse economic actors are made up of many different parts which, in coming together, hold the potential to become something else.

The fundamental innovation of this thesis has therefore been to embed critical urban research in ongoing processes of contestation and struggle. It has claimed a role for activism and organising work within research and made use of basic research methods and skills of interviewing and critical analysis within activism. Locating research and activism in one another in this way has produced a varied set of knowledge, resources and possibilities, all oriented towards the realisation of alternative, more inclusive urban economic development. Recognising that the performativity of language affords all research a role in bringing into being the world it describes (Cameron and Gibson 2005a, Wills 2012 and 2014), this approach to combining activism with research seeks to amplify and strengthen contestation and struggle in academic debates. More than this, it involves building knowledge, resources and possibilities within activist and other groups beyond academia, contributing to bringing other worlds into being 'beyond the representational moment' (Gibson-Graham 2005 p17). This mode of knowledge production recognises the

legitimacy and authorship of the knowledge and experience of activists, relating to them as collaborators rather than research subjects (Benson and Nagar 2006, Nagar in consultation with Ali and Sangatin women's collective 2003, Oldfield 2015). So conceived, research can produce not only data for scholarly analysis and writing but also new knowledge and possibilities for practical action which circulate and proliferate amongst collaborators. Embedding critical urban research in contestation is therefore a radical strategy for bringing alternative urban worlds into being.

Embedding critical urban research in contestation also involves remaining attuned to the conflicts and tensions between activism and research, however. Although there is much scope for synergies and connections between researchers and activists, there will also inevitably be tensions between their various intermingling spheres, rhythms, roles and requirements. While researchers need not leave the academy nor 'change hats' in order to be activists (Gibson-Graham 2006a pxxx, Wills 2012 and 2014), this does not mean that they occupy the same subject position as their collaborators outside the academy.

In my own work, tensions and conflicts were powerfully felt early on, as I worked to build a basis for my research. Once a basis for collaboration had been established which accommodated our various roles and requirements, carrying out the agreed organising work, action-oriented interviews and embedded critical engagement felt much more comfortable. Later on, tensions and conflicts reappeared as I began to withdraw from my activism and involvement in order to create the space and time to produce this thesis and as I struggled to write a sole-authored academic text from collective knowledge and action. Although I enjoyed, valued and felt committed to my ongoing activism and involvement, I also worried that it would cost me my PhD. I resolved time and time again to cut my remaining ties in order to gather what had emerged thus far, leaving what had yet to emerge for a further research project following the completion of my PhD. The birth of my daughter in February 2016 took many of these decisions for me in the end, as I focused on the most essential elements of life and work.



This final withdrawal was necessary but it was also painful and troubling. Spending so much time and energy on a solitary and demanding academic text whilst watching urban development processes continue to unfold around me, in some cases with negative consequences for people I had come to know and care about, caused me to think hard about whether and how urban scholars can play a role in developing alternatives. This critical reflection ultimately enabled me to reveal, explore, expand and extend sites of contestation and struggle for alternative, more inclusive London economies.

At the heart of embedded critical urban research is therefore the critical engagement and reflection developed by individual scholar-activists to arrive at a 'third space' between the academy and activism from which to write, think and do (Routledge 1996 p399; see also Fuller 1999, Katz 1994). Acknowledging and working through some of the tensions and conflicts between activism and research in this way is productive and generative not only for scholar-activists, however. Researchers can make productive use of critical engagement and reflection to establish a basis for collaboration with others outside the university, playing a role in collective action without needing to leave the university and 'become' an activist. Whether as activists, researchers or scholar-activists, they can undertake everyday organising work and embedded and action-oriented research activities in collaboration with others. And, they can (partially or temporarily) withdraw from activism and involvement in order to write up academic work. While different approaches to combining activism with research are often counterposed (Chapter 4), I propose a more fluid and multiple positionality, characterised by a willingness to experiment with and move between activism, research and scholar-activism. This thesis suggests that critical engagement with both the commonalities and tensions/conflicts between research and activism can be fundamentally productive and generative of new knowledge and resources for bringing alternative urban worlds into being.

The fact that I played a significant role in shaping and strengthening the contestations and struggles explored in this thesis may raise questions about its validity for some readers. Diverse economic actors seeking to secure their place in London's economy and its future development do so in extremely constrained circumstances with very minimal resources and often in the face of multiple and

intensifying threats. In this context, my organising and facilitating work made a significant contribution to the abilities of these small businesses, industrial firms, migrant and ethnic minority retailers, market traders and community and social enterprises to represent themselves and their interests in planning debates. Too often, I took personal responsibility for mobilising diverse economic actors rather than collectivising this essential connecting, mediating and organising work. I intend to learn from this experience in my future work - as I hope others will - by, as Harney *et al* put it, 'includ[ing] a focus on building lasting relationships so that knowledge can remake the world more effectively' (2016 p11; see also Wills 2012 and 2014).

To have an impact on what was possible was, of course, exactly my intention. Instead of repeating and reinforcing dominant narratives about urban economies, this thesis represents but one product of a varied set of practices aimed at identifying, exploring, expanding and extending sites and instances in which diverse economic actors are already mobilising in pursuit of alternative, more inclusive urban economies.

#### **8.4 Further research into contested urban economies**

This thesis suggests a number of ways in which researchers might further extend and explore the possibilities for alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development. First, the thesis has opened up new terrains and modes of political mobilisation in London for further research. Such research might make use of the concepts and methods developed through this thesis to undertake other embedded critical research projects with alliances of diverse economic actors in London. While the precise nature of such research projects will necessarily emerge through dialogue between researchers and collaborators, this thesis provides some possible starting points, including everyday organising work, action-oriented interviewing and critical analysis and writing. Such research can play a role in making London's emerging economic alliances more visible and powerful within both urban studies and urban development processes.

Second, this thesis also suggests that there is considerable scope for researchers to use traditional, detached research methods to explore questions relevant to scholarly, policy and activist concerns. It has brought London's emerging economic alliances into view and they could be further explored using the academic literature on urban social movements. That literature has not previously been used to think about mobilisations of diverse economic actors because these have rarely entered scholarly accounts of urban development processes and their politics; the focus has normally been on struggles around housing and public services. Within the framework of this thesis, I have made preliminary use of that literature to draw out the new knowledge and possibilities generated where the 'room for manoeuvre' to influence plans and developments has been extremely limited and where proposed policy changes have been overwhelmingly rejected (Colomb 2008, Edwards 2009, Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti 2007). JSEP, the Carpenters Community Plan group and WCC in particular made use of a range of different tactics and strategies, taking experience, knowledge and resources gained through opposition to plans and development proposals and putting them to work to develop and pursue alternative proposals, as well as continuing to seek and remain open to opportunities to engage and influence local planning authorities, providing additional examples of urban activism which combines opposition, alternatives and engagement (Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2007, Oldfield 2015, Oldfield and Stokke 2007). In all cases, but perhaps particularly in the case of the Carpenters Community Plan group and WCC, the experiences of these groups speak both to the importance and the challenge of building coalitions and alliances across a wide range of interests (Edwards 2010b, Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2007, Marcuse 2009, Mayer 2007, Wills 2008, 2009 and 2012). Having worked to reveal, explore and strengthen these emerging mobilisations through this thesis, further research could usefully explore how they speak to the urban social movement literature and *vice versa*.

Third, this thesis opens up a new area of research into the performativity of the economic evidence base underpinning metropolitan and local plans in London. There is more work to do to explore the role of the property development sector in creating economic models and carrying out employment land reviews which prioritise their own perspectives and interests. A systematic

review of recent employment land reviews in London would be a useful starting point. Going further, researchers could learn from and contribute to the efforts of diverse economic actors to challenge these perspectives and develop alternative analyses. In this way, urban scholars could use the notion of economic performativity not only to probe further the role of employment land reviews in making industrial land surplus in London but also to build and mobilise other economic models and analyses with workspace users in order to fight for the place of industry in London's future economy. Ferm, Jones and Edwards' (2017) catalogue of local economy studies in London, inspired by and connected with JSEP's ongoing work, provides one example of the latter.

Fourth, I am interested in building on this thesis by extending my efforts to represent and mobilise London's diverse economy to incorporate non-capitalist and non-market activities. Taking my cue from the concerns of Just Space and the other groups with which I worked, this thesis has overwhelmingly focused on the diversity of the capitalist economy, in particular the small businesses, migrant and ethnic minority retailers, market traders and industrial firms most threatened by London's escalating workspace crisis. The dominance of the global/world city view meant that this was more than enough of a challenge to start with in opening up debate on London's economy. Whilst I and other JSEP members planned a meeting to discuss the role of the London Plan in relation to unpaid and domestic labour, the demands of other issues were felt to be higher priority, such as the threat to low-cost workspace posed by the FALP. Discussions therefore did not progress beyond an initial consideration of possible groups to involve, such as the Women's Design Group, London Women's Planning Forum and the Women's Budget Group. A future research project might draw together groups and individuals interested and involved in a range of alternative and non-market economic activities, build new representations of their role and contribution to London's economy and work with them to mobilise these relationships and representations in strategic planning debates. Focussing on how city strategies and plans might recognise, support and nurture the diverse economies of childcare, in order to address London's significantly lower rates of female employment compared to the rest of the UK, particularly for women with children, could be one possible starting point for this work which I hope to explore with JSEP in the future.

Finally, I hope that this thesis will provide inspiration and resources for others to research other contested urban economies. Like Robinson's notion of ordinary cities (2006; see also Amin and Graham 1997), contested urban economies is a concept which can speak to and from all cities. Its central innovation is to connect the economy with politics within urban studies, inserting diverse economic actors into accounts of urban development processes and their politics and conflict and struggle into its ways of thinking about urban economies. Urban scholars can represent and mobilise the diversity of urban economies to open up alternative, more inclusive approaches to urban economic development anywhere. Rather than seeing urban economies through the narrow lens of the global/world city (or other dominant approaches, such as the creative city), comparisons of contested urban economies could open up new ways of thinking about urban economies in relation to each other. For example, mobilisations of diverse economic actors in different cities could be compared; narratives about the role and contribution of particular economic activities could be gathered together; examples of innovative approaches to planning for diverse economies shared; and experiences of commercial displacement explored. Building on the research praxis developed through this thesis, a multi-sited approach to embedded critical urban research could be pursued, including opportunities for diverse economic actors in different cities to come together and learn from each other. In these ways and others, critical urban research may begin to play an increasingly significant role in bringing alternative, more inclusive urban economies into being.

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## **Appendix 1: Selected other outputs (2013 to 2016)**

A. Just Space Economy and Planning	341
i. Response to the consultation on the Further Alterations to the London Plan (extract)	341
B. Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network	347
i. Carpenters Community Plan (extract)	347
ii. Response to the consultation on the second draft LLDC local plan (extract)	348
C. WCC and OTLE	355
i. Response to the consultation on the second draft Tottenham Area Action Plan (extract)	355
ii. Objection to the Wards Corner CPO Inquiry	361

## **A. Just Space Economy and Planning**

### ***i. Response to the consultation on the Further Alterations to the London Plan (extract)***

## **3. OVERALL COMMENTS**

We are concerned that the Further Alterations to the London Plan (FALP) present a severe risk to the prospects of achieving sustainable development in London, specifically in relation to reducing the need to travel, creating lifetime neighbourhoods and ensuring affordable workspace for diverse economic activities (including those which could contribute to a greener London economy). The alterations as presently drafted would be likely to further hasten a return to the over-inflated, speculative real estate markets that we saw in the run-up to the financial crisis, preventing a more balanced, diverse and resilient economy from emerging in London's high streets, affordable office spaces and industrial land. Little or no consideration has been given to the impact of the alterations on inequality and poverty in London, impacts which could be severe.

While some alterations have been made to recognise the importance of affordable workspace to the competitiveness of the London economy, the overall thrust of the FALP is to introduce significantly more flexibility to convert employment space to high-density housing. This, in a context where housing significantly outbids employment uses throughout London, is likely to significantly erode affordable workspace throughout London which is currently providing services and goods which high-GVA sectors rely upon, space for new enterprises and activities to develop and (often local) jobs for Londoners. Should this occur, this shift will present a significant risk to London's economic competitiveness, sustainability and equality. In a context where little to no genuinely affordable housing is being delivered through new developments, viability assessments are being used by developers to circumvent planning policy (see separate submission on this topic from George Turner on behalf of Communities and Homes in London) and the London Plan's existing protections and targets are largely not being met, we expect the FALP to do far more harm to London's economy and housing crisis than good. We refer to the arguments set out in the Just Space submission which contest the premise for the alterations in revised population and household projections.

The alterations have not been prepared in a sufficiently joined-up manner; in particular, the implications of changes to housing policies on employment space have not been thought through. There has been no update to the Economic Evidence Base to the London Plan, nor to the Economic Development Strategy for London. The FALP are based instead on a series of specific evidence reviews that look at London's employment space (office, retail and industrial land) from the (partial) perspective of property markets and property developers and a few reports on the new and emerging - but still small - sectors of the digital and medical economies in London (NB - it is also of concern that a key report, on the Town Centre Health Checks, was only published towards the end of the consultation period). As a result, the FALP pay little attention to the existing diverse economic sectors and activities that make up the London economy. There is much less consideration given to how to retain, support and nurture London's existing economic spaces and activities than how to attract and deliver new ones.

A full revision of the economic evidence base and economic development strategy for London would allow a more joined-up evidence-based approach to be taken. Such a review should be undertaken through a transparent and participatory process, open to a diversity of economic organisations and actors, including the Federation of Small Businesses and its sub-regional London branches, local Chambers of Commerce, local business and trade organisations, trades unions and representatives of the voluntary, community and social enterprise sectors. We are concerned that the membership of the London Enterprise Panel is currently drawn much more narrowly than this, and that the GLA seems to be devolving its responsibility for the economic evidence base and economic development strategy for London to London First - an organisation which mainly represents property developers and real estate interests. Therefore, a full, transparent and participatory review should be conducted in relation to the FALP. We would be happy to provide suggestions on the key issues which we consider should be included in a review of the economic evidence and economic development strategy for London.

Our analysis of the FALP suggests that they are not fit for purpose, have not been prepared in accordance with the relevant legal requirements and are not sound. The FALP seek to accommodate significant transformational growth and

development by the selective alteration of certain policies. Furthermore, the invitation to comment restrict their making solely to the altered wording despite it being critical to consider policy interrelationships and far ranging implications and consequences for these policies and proposals that have not been altered. The scale and degree of the planned growth and the focusing in on only certain policy changes are such as to bring into question the coherence and effectiveness of the FALP. The Mayor's various duties and legal requirements, some of which are noted in our commentary on The Changing Planning System, para 1.45 et al, set out obligations to be adhered to in the preparation of alterations to the London Plan. These include consistency with national policy, but we find that in several instances the Mayor proposes partial interpretations or selective aspects of the roles of planning and not the full, mutually dependent, triple dimensions of sustainable development which should be jointly and simultaneously sought. This is to the consequent harm of the proper planning of London.

In the remainder of this submission, notwithstanding our overarching comments above, we provide detailed comments on the proposed alterations as follows:

**Chapter 1 (Context and Strategy):** We disagree with the suggestion that the global financial crisis is in the past for London, and suggest that the FALP risk entrenching a debt-based real-estate boom that could return the London economy to pre-crisis conditions (para 1.17-1.21). We note that employment in financial services is predicted to fall in real terms for the first time, and suggest this warrants a full review of the Economic Evidence Base, Economic Development Strategy and London Plan, in light of the centrality of this sector to previous plans and policies for the London economy (para 1.24 etc). It is hard to interrogate the revised sector and borough forecasts for the employment in London without a revised Economic Evidence Base. It is unclear where these figures have come from and what assumptions they are based on. The models suggest further concentration of employment in central London, but it is unclear whether these models are based on the FALP or not. It is crucial to clarify this, as the FALP are likely to have the overall effect of reinforcing this centralisation of employment in London. Without a clear evidence base for the London economy, it is not possible to ascertain whether the FALP are evidence-based or rather if the evidence base has been prepared on the basis of the FALP

(para 1.25 etc). The release of the office and retail reviews at the same time as the FALP, and the town centre health checks after the FALP, further calls into question whether the plan is actually based upon the evidence. Finally, we are concerned to see the purpose of planning in London being re-defined loosely and ambiguously as 'planning for growth' (para 1.45), especially in light of London's poor performance compared to other UK regions on broad measures of regional development and in light of national planning policy and the broad range of legal duties and requirements that the Mayor / the GLA must fulfil.

**Chapter 2 (London's Places):** Whereas the 2011 London Plan forecast equal rates of job and population growth, the FALP forecasts significantly less job growth than population (para 2.12). We recommend that the text is amended to clarify the meaning and to confirm that the FALP is not based on increasing unemployment in London and the Rest of the South East. We suggest various changes to the alterations on the LLDC (Policy 2.4), in order not to undermine the industrial activities on the site, to ensure a legacy for existing residents and businesses. We welcome the amendments to recognise the importance of affordable workspace of various kinds in the Central Activities Zone (para 2.46), Outer London (Policy 2.7) and Inner London (Policy 2.9). Existing affordable workspace is vulnerable to conversion to housing, both due to high housing prices and new flexibilities to enable change of use from office to housing in all but a few central exempted areas. The cost of workspace is a key factor in London's poor performance for small businesses<sup>1</sup> and affordable workspace is presently being lost far faster than it is being delivered through planning gain. We therefore suggest that these amendments need to be significantly extended and strengthened if they are to have any impact, as the overall thrust of the FALP serves to weaken the protection of employment land of various kinds, as we discuss more generally in relation to Chapter 4. We are concerned also to see the undermining of Outer London town centres and high streets through the proposed alteration to Policy 2.7Ah, following the review of retail, which we discuss in relation to Policy 4.7 and supporting text. In relation to Opportunity and Intensification Areas (para 2.651, 2.62 and Annex 1), we are concerned that the shift towards focusing on housing over employment risks employment

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<sup>1</sup> Volterra 2013 The Small Business Cities Burden Index, prepared for London First and the Federation of Small Businesses.

land which currently provides many jobs for Londoners being lost in order to provide new high density housing, thus creating increasing unemployment, and missing the opportunity to support the growth of existing local economies. Further, we recommend that details are provided as to where figures for new homes and jobs targets, have come from and how they have been arrived at, so as to enable them to be scrutinised both within IAs and OAs and at a strategic London-wide level. We suggest that the Mayor's regeneration ambitions (para 2.63) are presently likely to be thwarted by the FALP. We disagree with the analysis of the health of London's town centres (Policy 2.15), in light of the analysis and evidence we set out in relation to Policy 4.7. We propose that the alterations are withdrawn, as they would likely undermine the health of London's town centres and their associated economic, social and environmental functions. We recommend more detail is required on strategic outer London development centres (table 2.1). We are concerned to see alterations which would likely speed up the release of strategic industrial land (para 2.85), which performs a crucial role in supporting many aspects of London's economy, in direct opposition to the intended purpose of the plan's policies.

**Chapter 4 (London's Economy):** We are concerned at the narrow framing of this chapter, focusing on growth (undefined) at the expense of the three pillars of sustainable development and the broad range of duties and requirements on the Mayor / the GLA (Policy 4.1 and para 4.4A). We also consider there to be an overemphasis on small sectors of future growth, such as technology, media and telecommunications (TMT) and life sciences, neglecting the diversity and interconnectedness of London's economy (para 4.2 and 4.6). We recommend a full, transparent and participatory review of the economic evidence base and economic development strategy for London is conducted in order that the London Plan is based on an understanding of the diversity and interconnectedness of London's economies. We recommend that the membership of the LEP should be noted, in light of the narrow range of interests represented on it, and commitments made to broaden its membership and make it more transparent and participatory (para 4.9A). We are concerned at the flexibilities proposed in this chapter which would risk worsening existing problems of workspace affordability in London, highlighted in the GLA's own

reviews of office and industrial land. This is particularly concerning in light of the ease with which present planning policy is circumvented by developers through viability assessments (see separate submission on this topic from George Turner on behalf of Communities and Homes in London). We recommend that the commitment to monitor the impact of the government's liberalisation of permitted development rights should be considerably strengthened if it is to have any effect, and that a much more extensive exemption zone is introduced (Policy 4.2Ae and para 4.13A). We welcome recognition of the importance of small scale and local offices, but recommend that this should also be applied to Inner and Outer London, not just to the CAZ (Policy 4.3Bc). We caution against offsetting loss of office space with provision of new office space, in light of the evidence that this tends to be considerable less in quantity and more expensive (Policy 4.3Dd). We disagree with proposals for the highest release of industrial land in areas which are already undergoing rapid release and where the highest concentrations of industry presently exists. We present evidence and experience about the diversity of economic activities taking place on London's industrial land presently, and caution against destroying these vital functions. We recommend that much more strenuous protections are needed; alterations to para 4.23 should be removed as they go in the opposite direction. We challenge the pessimistic view presented of the future of London's high streets and town centres (Policy 4.7 and paras 4.40-4.43). We present research which shows how retail, office, social and cultural functions are interconnected in high streets and town centres, and suggest that the alterations risk severely damaging these interconnected functions. We make initial recommendations for a new approach to London's office, industrial and retail space, as part of a full, transparent and participatory review of the economic evidence base and economic development strategy for London.



## 5. Local economy

Our local economy has many strengths. The area provides excellent facilities for start-up businesses, which should be retained and potentially expanded. There are existing concentrations of businesses in construction, maintenance and refurbishment, as well as the Building Crafts College and artists' studios, which together should be recognised and seen as an asset for the future.

There are excellent training facilities in the Building Crafts College, the Carpenters and Docklands centre hosts a popular computer fair, and there are a number of local education and training colleges. Improved transport and access to the estate is essential for these and other local businesses to thrive.

We will encourage

- development of stronger links between local education, training and local jobs;

- retention and support of local small businesses and light industry in our neighbourhood through improved access and through repopulating the estate, leading to increased usage and business;
- improved links with East London University and the Building Crafts College;
- more apprenticeships, work placements and up-skilling of local residents;
- more workspaces where people make things;
- local hotels and retail stores to use local employment policies and to pay the London living wage;
- re-establishment of local links between homes and jobs with the promotion of local employment practices.



*"There is too much focus on retail. There should be more workspaces where people make things, such as upholstery, stone masonry, and carpentry. The Building Crafts College could go up a storey to provide workspaces and a work placement scheme." (Resident)*

*ii. Response to the consultation on the second draft LLDC local plan (extract)*

**SECTION 04: DEVELOPING BUSINESS GROWTH, JOBS AND LIFELONG LEARNING**

General comment: several businesses included within the surveys undertaken for the LLDC's local economy evidence base report that they were not contacted by the LLDC to inform them that the new draft local plan had been published, nor did they receive a copy of the consultation document. This suggests that consultation with local businesses has been insufficient and inadequate, in relation to the requirements of the NPPF to engage with and work with businesses as well as more general consultation requirements.

**STRATEGIC POLICY SP.1: BUILDING A STRONG AND DIVERSE ECONOMY**

Strategic Policy 1 is not sound because:

1. To achieve the LLDC's economic development and convergence aims, it will be necessary to build local supply chains in order to connect major development to organic growth of existing businesses. This is not mentioned in SP.1. Unless new development is linked with local supply chains, new investment will not remain in the area. For example, few local businesses report that they benefited from the Olympic Games through procurement processes (or indeed increased regular business, more commonly reporting disruption and/or loss of business)<sup>1</sup>. The new economics foundation's work on local multipliers shows how inward investment that remains in an area generates more value through multiplier effects<sup>2</sup>.
2. There is a brief mention of promoting social enterprise in paragraph 4.4, but there are no policies in SP.1 to support this.
3. There is insufficient focus on existing economic assets in the policy SP.1. The LLDC's local economy evidence base should be summarised; existing centres providing valued skills and training for local people should be mentioned (e.g.

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<sup>1</sup> Interviews with businesses on the Carpenters estate, conducted during 2013.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.neweconomics.org/press/entry/buying-local-worth-400-per-cent-more>  
<http://www.pluggingtheleaks.org/index.htm>

the Building Crafts College, Bromley by Bow Centre and Community Links); and wording added to explain how the LLDC's aims of convergence will be achieved through growth of existing economic assets as well as new development.

4. SP.1 does not set out measurable targets relating to whether the LLDC is achieving its aims of convergence and economic development.

To ensure SP.1 is sound

1. A new bullet point should be added to SP.1 on building local supply chains
2. Social enterprise should be mentioned in policy SP1.
3. Existing economic assets in and around the LLDC area should be given more attention in SP1 and supporting text.
4. Net direct jobs and net local jobs figures should be added to Table 1. An estimate for employment growth arising from the growth of businesses already occupying existing workspaces and that may be attracted to existing workspaces should also be provided.

**POLICY B.1: LOCATION AND MAINTENANCE OF EMPLOYMENT USES**

B.1 is unsound as it does not go far enough to support efforts to retain employment and industrial land.

- (a) In particular, the importance of retaining land for 'dirty' industries is under recognised and should be addressed. The growth of new technology and the maker revolution will not only occur in offices, but also in the workshops and yards of industrial estates such as those within the LLDC area. More of the detail from the LLDC's local economy evidence base should be discussed and reflected in the LLDC's policies. Currently, the Plan is unsound in this regard.
- (b) Recent rates of industrial land release are around three times higher than London Plan targets, given high residential land values. Pressure to convert employment sites within the LLDC is likely to be very high and targets for release likely to be exceeded. Projections on employment land should therefore be further strengthened to ensure future development doesn't choke off the diverse, thriving and resilient local economy documented in the LLDC's evidence base document.

- (c) Providing an option of significantly increasing job densities within B2/B8 use classes B.1 5 (b) will increase the pressure to redevelop existing employment spaces, reduce the likelihood that industrial typologies are re-provided and make it less likely that existing businesses can be accommodated in new developments. The cultural, artistic, new manufacturing and making, and food businesses that are celebrated in the LLDC's local economy evidence base require space to work and cannot be accommodated within higher-density office spaces.
- (d) Policy B.1 lacks definitions for Locally Significant Industrial Sites and Other Industrial Locations.
- (e) Policy B.1 fails to highlight the importance of local employment in terms of delivering sustainable and lifetime neighbourhoods. It fails to meet NPPF requirements to jointly consider economic, social and environmental aspects of sustainable development.

To ensure B.1 is sound

- (a) The employment cluster in the Greater Carpenters District should be included within Table 2. Existing workspace should remain in employment use in order to provide jobs that local people can access, including in light industrial uses. This land is currently occupied by businesses that are growing, provide local jobs and training and are valued by local residents. There is a need for the sorts of employment that this cluster can provide within Sub-Area 3 in addition to the retail jobs at Stratford Metropolitan Town Centre if the LLDC is to achieve its aims of convergence.
- (b) Industrial land designations should be strengthened for all industrial sites, listed in Table 2 and supporting text should be updated to reflect this.
- (c) The words 'or significantly increase job densities within B use classes' should be deleted from Policy B.1 5(b) to ensure the policy is effective.
- (d) Definitions should be added for Locally Significant Industrial Sites and Other Industrial Locations if Policy B.1 is to be effective.
- (e) Policy B.1 and supporting text should acknowledge the importance of retaining local employment sites in terms of delivering lifetime neighbourhoods, reducing the need to travel and creating successful neighbourhoods. The Plan must make the link between homes and jobs in order to deliver its aims in relation to convergence and in order to meet the NPPF requirements to jointly

consider economic, social and environmental aspects of sustainable development.

...

#### **POLICY B.4: PROVIDING LOW-COST AND MANAGED WORKSPACE**

Policy B.4 is not sound as it

- (a) Policy B.4 does not sufficiently protect affordable workspaces. Evidence from Hackney shows that far more affordable workspace is lost through development than delivered through section 106 agreements, and that which is delivered is not comparable in terms of affordability or other characteristics<sup>3</sup>. This is also necessary in light of the LLDC's own aims to support a diverse and resilient local economy, in particular artists and creative and cultural practitioners.
- (b) The 'up to 75 per cent of historic market rent for the previous year....' - policy B.4 (4) is too high a ceiling.
- (c) Policy B.4 does not recognise the need for long-term low rents and security of tenure in terms of retaining diversity within the local economy. Low rents are too often used to attract talent to an area, but then the same people are forced to move out as rents are raised a short time later in order to make room for higher-rent paying tenants. This is happening in Hackney Wick and Fish Island, where artists and cultural practitioners are calling for security of tenure in long-term affordable workspace. Committing to provide long-term low-cost rents would attract and retain talent in the LLDC area.
- (d) Policy B.4 does not recognise the need for new low-cost workspace to facilitate existing businesses growing. Businesses for example in the Greater Carpenters District report a lack of space to grow into.
- (e) Policy B.4 does not acknowledge the importance of affordable workspace in creating lifetime neighbourhoods.

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<sup>3</sup> See research by Dr Jessica Ferm, University College London.

#### To ensure B.4 is sound

- (a) Wording to support retention of existing low-cost workspace in Policy B.4 should be amended by removing the words 'where viable and where it complements plans for the wider area'.
- (b) The 'up to 75 per cent of historic market rent for the previous year....' B.4 (4) should be lowered.
- (c) Points 4-7 of Policy B.4 should be expanded to clarify that low-cost provision will remain low-cost for the long-term, with long-term tenancies.
- (d) A further bullet point should be added to B.4 clarifying that provision of new low-cost workspace will also be supported where it provides space for existing industries to grow.
- (e) Policy B.4 and supporting text should acknowledge the importance of affordable workspace in creating lifetime neighbourhoods.

#### **POLICY B.5: INCREASING LOCAL ACCESS TO JOBS, SKILLS AND EMPLOYMENT TRAINING**

##### Policy B.5 is unsound

- (a) There is no target to monitor effectiveness of policy B.5. If targets are not set, the LLDC will be in a weaker position to secure jobs and training for local residents from development. It is important to set targets to demonstrate evidence of direct benefit to excluded and disadvantaged residents as part of convergence aims.
- (b) The meaning of 'local residents' is not defined in relation to policy B.5. It is reported that few residents in existing communities surrounding the park – both from the LLDC area and Growth (Host) boroughs were unable to access jobs and apprenticeship schemes associated with the Olympics.
- (c) Policy B.5 and supporting text does not explain how aims of the policy will be achieved in practice and is not in conformity with policy 2.4 of the London Plan. The importance of connecting employment and training opportunities to schools and families and recognition that for local people to benefit this is essential is not mentioned. Policy 2.4 of the London Plan is clear that the games and its legacy will promote local economic investment (especially for young people) driven by community engagement. Experience at Bromley by

Bow Centre and of Community Links shows that it is important to get the detail right.

- (d) No mention is made in policy B.5 to lifelong learning, despite this being one of the three aims of this Section.

To ensure B.5 is sound:

- (a) Targets should be set for the proportion of construction and end-user jobs for local residents and for the numbers of local residents participating in skills and employment training initiatives in policy B.5.
- (b) The meaning of 'local residents' for the purposes of policy B.5 should be defined.
- (c) Policy B.5 must promote local economic investment driven by community engagement and set out how this will be achieved (in conformity with London Plan policy 2.4). This should include employment and training opportunities being connected to schools and families.
- (d) A new paragraph should be added to Policy B.5 to set out how the LLDC's aims in relation to lifelong learning will be secured through development proposals in relation to jobs and training. Supporting text should discuss the evidence base and explain the rationale for the LLDC's policies.

## **POLICY B.6: HIGHER EDUCATION, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT**

Policy B.6 is not sound because:

- (a) Policy B.6 does not provide sufficient detail or clarity to ensure local people benefit from any new higher education, research and development institutions locating within the LLDC area. Experience from new university campus developments in other areas, for example Colombia University in New York, suggests that existing communities are more often displaced from their homes, workspaces and community facilities by such schemes, rather than benefiting from them. The LLDC has the opportunity to do things differently, requiring potential universities to work in collaboration with communities to define and meet their needs and aspirations.
- (b) Policy B.6 fails to provide strategic links between higher education, research and development opportunities and schools and families.
- (c) No mention is made to lifelong learning in policy B.6, despite this being one of the three aims of this Section.

For policy B.6 to be sound:

- (a) The policy and supporting text should require proposals to set out clear pathways for how local residents will be able to access the education, training and opportunities they will provide, including bursaries for local people.
- (b) Strategic links should be made in Policy B.6 connecting higher education, research and development opportunities to schools and families and in recognition that for local people to benefit, schools and families must be involved from the beginning.
- (c) A new paragraph should be added to Policy B.6 to set out how the LLDC's aims in relation to lifelong learning will be secured through development proposals in relation to higher education, research and development. Supporting text should discuss the evidence base and explain the rationale for the LLDC's policies.



## C. WCC and OTLE

### *i. Response to the consultation on the second draft Tottenham Area Action Plan (etc) (extract)*

Comments on [Chapter 5 of the] proposed alterations to Strategic Policies...

- **Support proposed amendment Alt70** which confirms the borough will protect non-designated employment sites in order to secure a strong economy.
  
- **Strongly disagree with proposed amendment Alt71** which decreases the forecast demand of new industrial workspace (B use classes) from 137,000 sqm to 32,000 sqm. While the amendment proposes this figure has come from the update of the Employment Land Study for Haringey, it is not clear where this exact figure has come from as it does not appear in the review. We have identified a range of serious concerns about the Employment Land Study update (see below). It seems entirely counterproductive to reduce ambition for new employment floorspace at a time when Tottenham's population and economy is projected to grow so rapidly, by the London Plan at least. **This proposed amendment should be withdrawn pending a new full review of Tottenham's industrial land.**
  
- Our concerns about the existing Employment Land Study include the following:
  - o The study displays a lack of understanding of the characteristics and strengths of the existing economy, in particular the activities underway within industrial land and high streets. Work from CASS Cities from Mark Brearley, Jane Clossick and their students is insightful here (see their separate submissions), as well as the survey of industrial estates (From Around Here) undertaken by Gort Scott architects and funded by Haringey Council and the GLA.
  - o A detailed survey of existing businesses (quantitative and qualitative) should be undertaken (see those undertaken by the LLDC in support of their local plan).
  - o Existing businesses, business groups and community groups have not been consulted or included within the stakeholder consultation conducted to

inform this study. This makes it invalid and it should be repeated with a wider involvement of relevant local actors rather than just commercial developers and real estate actors, whose measure of success tends to be increases in rent rather than the broader concerns of Haringey Council and local communities. For example. The section on 'vacant floorspace' starting on page 34 implies that new workspaces are inherently more attractive than existing ('second hand') premises. This is not the case and is indicative of the dominance of a developer/investor rather than business/tenant perspective within the employment land study.

- Maps should be included.
- The study acknowledges that the market for offices in Haringey is weak (as it does not compete with the central London market) while the market for industrial space is generally strong, with particular demand for space for flexible premises for SMEs. Yet the study seems to project a replacement of the strong industrial market with the weak office market, by loosing industrial floorspace to higher density office and mixed use developments. This seems very contrary to the evidence presented and potentially very damaging to Tottenham's economy.
- The study acknowledges strong demand for industrial floorspace, and good occupancy rates on all estates, and yet still ends up recommending the relaxation of the status of some industrial areas to 'Regeneration Areas' to facilitate the delivery of the Council's housing and regeneration aims. The study is not considering how a failure to protect this workspace will impact on the Council's economic development aims. For instance, there is a lack of awareness about the role of existing workspaces in facilitating a growth in SMEs, green industries and social enterprises, despite these being stated aims of the Council's 2020 economic development and carbon reduction strategies. The study conveys no sense of the vision for the local economy.
- The study acknowledges that new commercial floorspace development often results in a net loss of employment floorspace due to the removal of existing floorspace (para 8.10 and paras 5.136-5.138). This finding does not seem to be dealt with at all in the plans policies. The loss of well functioning and valued employment land to make way for contentious major developments that displace existing residents and businesses (e.g. High Road West, Spurs Stadium, Wards Corner) is a major concern and has not

been considered at all within the various planning documents. Business displacement should be studied in detail as part of a new economic evidence base for the plan. It is particularly important to address this issue within the Tottenham AAPs.

- There is no consideration of:
  - The impact of the relaxation of permitted development rights on the supply of employment space (the study explicitly says this has not been taken into account). As this change is likely to remove a lot of employment land from Haringey, not considering this makes the plan unsound.
  - The impact of the loss of industrial land across London making the employment land sites in Haringey and particularly Tottenham more attractive. The Tottenham Opportunity Investment Fund is based precisely on this understanding. The plan needs to take this into account also to be sound.
  - How different land uses relate to and rely upon each other. E.g. office / industrial / retail in and around high streets and town centres. There is no consideration of the links between retail and industrial land – the studies are entirely separate...
- **Proposed amendment Alt72 should be withdrawn.** We strongly disagree with the proposed downgrading of the employment land status of Crusader Industrial Estate N15; High Road West N17; part of Vale Road/Tewksbury Road N15; and White Hart Lane N17. The Employment Land Study describes these sites as well occupied and well performing in its description of individual industrial sites from p.23...
- **Proposed amendment Alt77** introduces updated jobs targets for Haringey, introduced by the Further Alterations to the London Plan, which forecast 22,000 new jobs between 2011 and 2036, which would give the highest employment growth rate of all London boroughs. The borough itself said these growth rates could not be delivered in its response to the consultation on the FALP. And the Employment Land Study says that this scenario 'would result in levels of B use class employment growth that Haringey has not witnessed in the past two decades and would result in significant additional employment

land requirements that would be difficult to provide for given the limited availability of sites and the Borough' housing and regeneration policies' (p.49). The Study recommends Haringey therefore does not plan on the basis of the FALP employment projections, but the much lower trend based projections. This means the plan is unsound as regards to the FALP. This quote also confirms the view that Haringey's – and Tottenham's specifically – supply of industrial land is being sacrificed to deliver its housing and regeneration priorities. This will have severe impacts on the nature and character of Tottenham for years to come, weakening the prospects for sustainable and inclusive development that actually benefits local people and local businesses...

#### Comments on Chapter 5 of the Development Management DPD

- We are very concerned about these policies. Our concerns raised in response to the Strategic Policies also apply here. In addition, we set out below some further concerns and comments.
- Chapter 5 provides no sense of vision for the Haringey economy and its different places and aspects and strengths...
- **Policy DM49** (and supporting paras) seeks to achieve the maximum amount of employment floorspace and employment densities through new development. This will inevitably lead to the delivery of office type workspace, rather than hybrid or industrial type workspace. This is a concern given the existing supply of and strong demand for industrial type workspaces, which should be protected. We propose this policy is amended so as to provide a more sensitive approach.
- We disagree with the suggestion in **para 5.10** that 'old stock' is not suitable to 'current need'. New activities often take place in older stock, because it provides suitable spaces and typologies for the work and is more affordable. Also, what is the meaning of 'regenerate employment land'?...
- **Policy DM50** and supporting text– for reasons already set out, we disagree with the blanket facilitation of mixed use development on employment sites. The guidance recommended by the Employment Land Study on how to provide B-class uses within mixed use schemes has not been provided and should be...

- **Para 5.19** sets out the Council's expectation that mixed use schemes will deliver 'provision of affordable workspace in perpetuity'. This should be referred to in policy rather than being hidden in supporting text. 'Affordable workspace' should be defined.
- **Para 5.20** refers to the importance that mixed use proposals 'will not prejudice the continuation of industrial and business activities'. This should be referred to in policy DM50. Again, guidance needs to be provided on how to deliver industrial uses within mixed use develop and how to conduct mixed use development within industrial areas without damaging them. This is untested...
- **Para 5.26** suggests a misunderstanding of the NPPF. The issue is not that employment land cannot be protected where there is no prospect of *development* coming forward, but that it cannot be protected where there is no prospect of it being *in use*. Again, this suggests a dominance of developers perspectives rather than users perspectives in thinking about the employment land policies...

#### Comment on introductory text to Tottenham AAP DPD

- General comment: Maps are very poor quality and cannot be read
- The site allocations do not add up to a vision for Tottenham's economy
- Strongly dispute the picture painted of the Tottenham economy paras 2.14-2.16. This is entirely inadequate in both length and understanding. Para 2.14 suggests that there are no major manufacturers in Tottenham any more – this is not the case – as work from CASS Cities from Mark Brearley and students, as well as the From Around Here survey of industrial estates in Tottenham shows (see separate submission). The description of the existing economy as 'fragmented' is not based in evidence. The one sentence mention of a recent increase in SME activity warrants much more detailed study and consideration. More generally, small businesses make up the majority of the Tottenham economy and are a major focus of regeneration and economic development policy, yet are given very little attention. Overall, these paras present an inadequate evidence base for the AAP, rendering it unsound.

- Paras 2.19 and 2.20 explore the potential for Tottenham to provide space for start-ups in new industries that could employ local people. Where will this be delivered? No acknowledgement is made of the importance of low cost and industrial typologies in achieving this. No mention is made of the existing businesses that employ and train local people. None of these ambitions are realised in the AAP.
- Objective 2 and para 3.3 is a formulaic approach to urban economic development that is totally ungrounded in an understanding of the existing economy and its strengths. No mention of how existing businesses will be involved in and benefit from changes rather than be displaced by them. No mention of how the plan will ensure new jobs are quality jobs and can be accessed by local people. The Our Tottenham Local Economy section of the Charter should be considered and incorporated.
- Policy AAP1.E and para 4.8 proposes a 'comprehensive' approach to development. We disagree that a 'comprehensive' approach necessarily discounts 'incremental' development, nor that the latter is inappropriate for Tottenham. Incremental development can be comprehensive by considering a particular development in its wider context. A step by step approach is better able to include and incorporate existing residents, businesses and community uses than large scale major redevelopment schemes. An incremental approach can build on and support existing strengths and diversity, while large scale major development is more likely to wipe them out...
- The Tottenham AAP DPD does not consider research on stadium led development and regeneration, which finds very little contribution to the local economy – jobs provided are generally small scale and part time and arguments about local multiplier effects do not take place in practice. Therefore, the new Spurs stadium should not be presented as a driver of economic development in Tottenham. See separate submission from Mark Panton, Birkbeck University, on this point for more information, and the recent London Assembly Regeneration Committee report on this topic.

## ***ii. Objection to the Wards Corner CPO Inquiry***

21 October 2016

Dear Sir/Madam

### **RE: London Borough of Haringey, Wards Corner Regeneration Project Compulsory Purchase Order 2016**

1. I write to object to the proposed CPO in my capacity as a local resident, customer of Seven Sisters market and other small businesses at Wards Corner, member of Wards Corner Community Coalition and as a PhD researcher whose research is relevant to this case.

2. I disagree with Haringey Council's suggestion that this CPO is in the public interest. The Council has given planning permission for an alternative scheme, the community plan for Wards Corner, which would not require the use of CPO powers and which would deliver considerable social and economic benefits as set out in the planning application. In addition, the Council accepted an application to list (the ground floor of) the corner building at Wards Corner as an Asset of Community Value, seemingly accepting the significant social and public contribution it is already making.

3. I attach to this letter a summary of initial research findings from interviews carried out with Seven Sisters market traders and other small businesses at Wards Corner during March 2013. This research further highlights the economic and community value of the economic activity taking place at Wards Corner, in particular:

- its resilience despite the financial crisis and the uncertainty caused by the threat of redevelopment;
- its success providing space for start-ups and entrepreneurs to try out new ideas;
- its importance in supporting the livelihoods of traders and their families;

- its specialised role in providing goods and services for ethnically diverse and low-income populations;
- the wide-ranging community advice services provided within Seven Sisters market, both for free and at cost; and
- its actual and potential role as a site of holistic social and economic development.

4. Other research, including that conducted by Jane Clossick, Isa Gutierrez Sanchez and Patria Roman Velazquez, which I understand is also being submitted for consideration, further elaborates the social and economic value of Seven Sisters market.

5. This broad economic and social value of Wards Corner has not been taken into account by Haringey Council or the developer Grainger Plc through this CPO or other efforts to compensate and/or relocate traders and small businesses. Grainger Plc has not fulfilled its obligations under the s106 agreement that accompanied its planning permission, as its proposal to reprovide the market does not provide appropriate workspaces nor affordable rents. Neither does it take into account the community value and activities presently taking place within the market nor the often-stated desire and capacity of traders for self-management and the further holistic social and economic development of the market. As such, Haringey Council's argument that this CPO is justified in part because of Grainger's proposal for reprovision of Seven Sisters market is not valid.

6. In addition, this CPO does not take into consideration the experience and commitment of market traders, small business owners, residents and other local actors and their supporters and collaborators to deliver the community plan for Wards Corner. The extent of community activity in support of Wards Corner over many years is very unusual, pursued not only through Wards Corner Community Coalition, but several traders organisations including Pueblito Paisa Ltd and Latin Corner Ltd and the community development vehicle for Wards Corner and the broader town centre, the West Green Road/Seven Sisters Development Trust, as well as being supported by other residents' groups throughout Tottenham, including those brought together through the Our Tottenham network. These organisations have attracted and drawn on the support of many organisations and



collaborators over the years, including the Prince's Regeneration Trust, the Open University/Royal College of Art's *Creative Citizens* project, the University of Leeds' traditional markets project, the Community Development Foundation, Just Space, Latin Elephant, and many researchers and students. As a result, the WCC and the Trust have featured in several guides as examples of exemplary community planning initiatives (e.g. the Just Space Economy and Planning workspace handbook, the Creative Citizens directory, the University of Leeds' traditional markets project report). It is extremely unusual for a community planning group to secure planning permission for their own alternative development of a threatened site.

7. WCC, the Trust, Pueblito Paisa, Latin Corner and their supporters and collaborators have therefore built up considerable experience, capacity, connections, resources and reputation through many years of campaigning and community development activity which represent significant social capital. This social capital has not been taken into account in proposing this CPO. Rather than destroying it along with the buildings making up Wards Corner, it should be allowed to continue to grow and develop – with the support of Haringey Council – in order to further enhance the existing economic and social value of the site. Recent government policy seeks to put more local matters in the hands of communities such as these with desire and capacity to take valued local assets into community ownership for community benefit.

8. There is significant planning and policy support for an alternative approach at Wards Corner, both at local and metropolitan level. This has already been detailed in the community plan submitted for planning permission and in WCC's response to Haringey Council's consultation on the Tottenham Area Action Plan and is therefore not repeated here.

Yours faithfully

Myfanwy Taylor

## **The economic and community value of Wards Corner**

Research Summary prepared in support of CPO objection

### Introduction

This research summary presents initial findings from 13 qualitative interviews I conducted with market traders, small businesses and other community actors at Wards Corner during March 2014. These interviews formed part of my action research PhD at University College London on urban planning and diverse economies, in which I worked in collaboration with community planning groups in Tottenham, Stratford and London-wide. I have been a member of Wards Corner Community Coalition since 2013 and have more recently worked with the West Green Road/Seven Sisters Development Trust to pursue the community plan for Wards Corner.

### Headline findings

This research highlights the economic and community value of Wards Corner, in particular:

- its resilience despite the financial crisis and the uncertainty caused by the threat of redevelopment;
- its success providing space for start-ups and entrepreneurs to try out new ideas;
- its importance in supporting the livelihoods of traders and their families;
- its specialised role in providing goods and services for ethnically diverse and low-income populations;
- the wide-ranging community advice services provided within Seven Sisters market, both for free and at cost; and
- its actual and potential role as a site of holistic social and economic development.

## The economic value of Wards Corner

All eight businesses interviewed are independently owned.

The eight businesses are mainly specialised in food and drink and personal services.

They include one restaurant; one butcher; one off-license; two hair and beauty salons; one optician; one lettings agent; and one video store.

Five of the six market traders began their businesses in Seven Sisters market, while one set up a branch in Seven Sisters after establishing his business initially in Elephant and Castle.

Two proprietors live locally while six travel from other parts of London and surrounding areas.

Together, these eight businesses provide 17 full time jobs and 14 part time jobs, or an average of three full time equivalent (FTE) jobs per business (assuming part time jobs are 50% FTE).

At least 18 of the 31 workers (approx. 60%) live locally (Tottenham, Seven Sisters, Finsbury Park, Walthamstow).

The six market traders report 18-50 customers per day, while Tottenham Wine reports 500 customers per day and Hammonds Eye Practice cites a patient base of 20,000.

All businesses report that their customers are drawn from other parts of London, as well as from Tottenham.

*Box 1: Economic characteristics of the eight market traders and small businesses on the Wards Corner site interviewed.*

Out of the 13 interviews conducted, eight were with market traders or small business owners at Wards Corner. While it is not possible to calculate economic statistics from this small sample, the characteristics outlined in Box 1 above begin to communicate the positive value of the economic activity taking place in this area.

Looking more closely at individual businesses, other strong narratives emerge from the interviews conducted. A proprietor of a South American butcher based in Seven Sisters market for seven years explained the particular value of the market as a place to start a business, needing little up-front investment.

Several other market traders talked proudly about the investment they and others had made in their units. The value of Seven Sisters market as a place of entrepreneurship and experimentation was also emphasised by the then market manager and her assistant, who identified low start-up costs and the flexibility to merge, divide and adapt the units as being particularly important.

The market manager, market traders and independent businesses emphasised their economic success by referring to the overall operating success of the market, their ability to win trade from competitors and the lives and livelihoods the market supports. The market manager explained that her capacity to pay the rent on the market lease depended on the success of market traders and their ability to pay their rent. Similarly, her assistant emphasised the success of the market in remaining full and lively over the course of the global financial crisis. The proprietor of an independent off-license on West Green Road explained that he was able to compete with much larger wholesalers because their prices were competitive and their location was convenient for local restaurants and bars.

One market trader emphasised the value of his business in meeting his family's basic needs: 'we haven't got a huge amount of money, that is something which can literally just provide your food for your family and your rent and things like that'. Another also argued that the market played a central role in supporting the lives of traders and their families:

*You have about three, four, five people employed in each one of the small units like this. If you count how many people are living... through the one small unit, its plenty, plenty of them.... It doesn't matter how many billions [Grainger] have, they are not saving all of my pounds that I earn a day to make my family live. What they are saying, you go and die, when you die, we'll call you when everything is right.... Have you ever seen anyone resurrected from the dead to come and do business? That's what Grainger's plan is. They don't care about nobody, they don't care about me. The community care about me. Its important.*

### The negative economic impact on the threat of the Grainger development

Many of the traders, business owners and other community actors interviewed explained how the local economy had been negatively affected by the long-standing threat of the Grainger development. Many customers thought that Seven Sisters market had already been demolished, and were surprised to find it still operating. Several people stated that Haringey Council, Grainger and Transport for London had refused to consider proposals for incremental development and the re-use of empty buildings, instead letting them fall into disrepair. The uncertainty was preventing existing market management, traders and businesses from investing in making improvements. One community leader told me that 'it was very detrimental to keep people in that uncertainty and despite that the amount of money that Grainger claims to the development will bring to the economy is less than the turnover at the moment that this place is bringing to the economy'. Yet despite these difficult conditions, market traders and small businesses have been able to continue to trade and to grow their enterprises, and the market manager has been able to continue to run a successful business due to the attractiveness of the market.

### A specialised economy

The interviews conducted with market traders, businesses and other local actors reveal a local economy specialised in meeting the needs of low-income and/or ethnically diverse communities in Tottenham and across London. In explaining how they tailored their goods and services to particular groups, proprietors expressed their pride and pleasure in this role and the knowledge and expertise it required. A lettings agent operating from Seven Sisters market explained that 99 per cent of his customers were in receipt of housing benefit and claiming homelessness, many of them referred to him by Haringey Council as the lettings agents on the high street couldn't help them. He said, 'we're here to help those who are vulnerable, those who can't help themselves. And the Council should be very proud of us'. The proprietor of an opticians on Seven Sisters Road also differentiated the service he provided from those of major opticians chains as being 'good eye care', which prioritised the medical needs of patients above the selling of glasses for maximum profit. He explained he particularly enjoyed providing this service in Tottenham, compared to his previous practice in

Hampstead, because ‘the patients here, at the end of my exam... say “thank you”... I actually went home with a full heart’.

Several proprietors explained how their businesses were specialised in meeting the needs of Tottenham’s ethnically diverse communities. The proprietor of an independent off license on West Green Road, for example, explained that one of the reasons for its success was its specialisation in a large range of rums and brandies – including many high-end, outsize and speciality products - to meet the preferences of the Caribbean community. Within Seven Sisters market, many restaurants, shops and hair and beauty salons are specialised in the goods and services demanded by London’s large Latin American population, attracting customers from all over London, as well as to low-income residents in need of good quality, affordable food and a welcoming place to spend time.

#### An economy entwined with the community

The close relationship between commerce and community at Wards Corner is further deepened by the many community advice services provided by many traders and other local actors from Seven Sisters market, revealed through the interviews. Community advice services are flourishing, dealing with a broad range of issues including housing, legal matters, domestic violence, business support, translation services and the integration and promotion of Latin Americans in London. In some cases, services are provided free of charge by volunteers, making use of office space above market units or the public space of cafes and restaurants. In other cases, traders charge for community services: for example, setting up a small translation business within the family video store after being made redundant, establishing a company to help Latin American businesses connect with the community or employing young people to offer translation services to help traders complete food hygiene certificates. As such, Seven Sisters market can be seen as a place in which commerce and community are intimately entwined, enabling particular forms of market and non-market exchange to emerge and flourish, in which livelihoods can be supported and earned through provision of community advice services.

Several of the traders and other community actors interviewed described the importance of Seven Sisters market as an actual and potential site of holistic

social and economic development. One trader explained how the market was a place of both work and leisure where working life was made more enjoyable through social interaction and which was welcoming to all, in particular to children. At least three of the traders I spoke to became aware of the opportunity to take on a unit at Seven Sisters market through personal connections with others in the market. The market manager became emotional as she spoke about the disregard and disrespect of Haringey Council to the ways in which some of the Colombian traders had made their homes and livelihoods at Seven Sisters market having fled political persecution and violence. Another community actor told me that Haringey Council had failed to understand both the economic and social value of the market, refusing to calculate the losses that would result if the Grainger plan was implemented, as this would be too damaging to the scheme. Ministers of a church with strong Latin American links spoke about the potential for the community plan to facilitate a form of interconnected social and economic development that echoed the holistic understanding of spirituality that they held, saying 'Seven Sisters becomes a site not only for commercial exchange but where culture could be strengthen and where social cooperation, family unity, recreation and people's interrelations can shine'.

Myfanwy Taylor

PhD Researcher, University College London

October 2016

## Appendix 2 Methodological details

A. Policy analysis and interviews	371
i. List of interviews	371
ii. Example topic guide	373
B. Proposals for collaborative action research	375
i. JSEP	375
ii. Newham Network	377
iii. WCC	379
iv. OTLE	381
C. Action research archive	383
i. List of contents: A1 (JSEP)	383
ii. List of contents: A2 (Carpenters Community Plan group and Newham Network)	392
iii. List of contents: A3 (WCC and OTLE)	398
iv. Example document (A2 08/05/13)	405
D. Research diary	406
i. List of entries	406
ii. Example entry	407
E. Meetings recorded and transcribed	409
i. List of JSEP meetings	409
ii. List of Newham Network meetings	409
iii. List of OTLE meetings	409
iv. Extract from transcript	410
F. Interviews with Carpenters businesses	421
i. List of interviews	421
ii. Semi-structured questionnaire	422
iii. Example transcript extract (IB Medical)	425
G. Interviews with market traders, businesses and other actors at Wards Corner	432
i. List of interviews	432
ii. Semi-structured questionnaire	433
iii. Example transcript extract (Carniceria Martinez)	436
iv. Consent form	442



## A. Policy analysis and interviews

### *i. List of interviews (32 in total)*

Name	Role and Organisation	Date and place of interview
<b>Greater London Authority and other metropolitan actors (18 interviews)</b>		
Nicholas Faulk	Director, London Office, URBED (Urbanism Environment Design)	17/10/13, Building Centre
Michael Ward	Independent Consultant Former Chief Executive, London Development Agency (2000-2004), and led economic development team at the Greater London Council during 1980s	21/10/13, University College London
Fiona Twycross	Member of the London Assembly Deputy Chair of London Assembly Economy Committee	22/10/13, City Hall
Anonymous 1	Planning officer, London First	23/10/13, London First
Margarethe Theseira	Independent Consultant Former head of Intelligence Unit, GLA	24/10/13, Centre for London
Michael Bach	Independent Consultant Former Principal Planner, Department for Communities and Local Government	28/10/13, University College London
Tom Chance	Advisor to Jenny Jones AM, Leader of London Assembly Green Group and Chair of London Assembly Economy Committee, and Darren Johnson AM	07/11/13, City Hall
Anonymous 2	Planning officer, GLA	08/05/14, City Hall
Mark Kleinman	Assistant Director, Economic and Business Policy, GLA	12/05/14, City Hall
Mark Boleat	Chairman of Policy, City of London Corporation	23/05/14, Guildhall
Matthew Waite	Head, GLA Economics, GLA	12/06/14, City Hall
Peter Shadbolt	Assistant Director, Planning Policy, Department of the Built Environment, City of London Corporation	16/06/14, Guildhall
Nicholas Garrott	Special Economic Assistant to Gerard Lyons, the Mayor's Chief Economic Adviser, Mayor of London's office	17/06/14 and 02/07/14, City Hall
Anonymous 3	Regeneration Officer, GLA	18/06/14, City Hall
Jamie Izzard	Board Secretary to the London	12/09/14, City

	Enterprise Panel, GLA	Hall
Tobias Goever	Team leader, Places of Work, Regeneration Team, GLA	19/09/14, City Hall
Anonymous 4	Business leader	15/10/14, Berkeley Square
Will McKee	Chair of the Mayor of London's Outer London Commission	22/10/14, Reform Club
<b>London Legacy Development Corporation / London Borough of Newham (6 interviews)</b>		
Anonymous 5	Senior planning officer, LLDC	20/05/14, LLDC
Neale Coleman <sup>1</sup>	Chair, LLDC Mayoral Advisor on Tottenham, Mayor's Office, GLA	05/08/14, LLDC
Dave Whittaker	Policy Manager, Planning and Development, LBN	08/10/14, LBN
Paolo Nistri	Senior Regeneration Manager, Socioeconomic Regeneration, Regeneration and Community Partnerships, LLDC	13/10/14, LLDC
Lord Andrew Mawson	Non-Executive Director, LLDC	14/10/14, LLDC
Paul Brickell	Executive Director of Regeneration and Community Partnerships, LLDC	17/10/14, LLDC
<b>Haringey Council and other local actors (8 interviews)</b>		
Joe Goldberg	Cabinet Member for Economic Development, Social Inclusion and Sustainability, Haringey Council	17/05/14, River Park House
Matthew Whitty	Political researcher and community liaison, David Lammy MP's office	06/08/14, Portcullis House
Alan Strickland	Cabinet Member for Housing and Regeneration, Haringey Council	08/09/14, River Park House
Robert Evans	Chair, Tottenham Landowners and Major Businesses group Executive Director and Chair, Argent LLP	15/09/14, by telephone
Jan Doust	Assistant Director for Social and Economic Regeneration, Haringey Council	16/09/14, River Park House
Vicky Clarke	Head of Economic Development and Growth, Haringey Council	07/10/14, River Park House
Stephen Kelly	Assistant Director for Planning, Haringey Council	08/10/14, River Park House
Dan Hawthorn	Assistant Director for Regeneration, Haringey Council	10/10/14, River Park House

<sup>1</sup> This interview also applies to London Borough of Haringey interviews, given Neale Coleman's role as Mayoral advisor on Tottenham.

## ***ii. Example topic guide***

### *Context*

- History of London economy and planning
- Key policy terrains
- Key actors
- Current priorities
- Whats coming next

### *Ideas and representations about London's economy*

- Growth. Its drivers. Where is future growth going to come from?
- How London has been affected by the financial crisis?
- The idea of London as global city
- The role of financial services
- The role of creative industries, high-tech and new media
- The role of the construction industry and housing market
- The role of diversity

### *Policy for London's economy*

- What are the aims of policy makers for London's economy?
- What are the aims of other actors for London's economy? E.g. trades unions; business councils; specific industries; etc.
- What is the role of the national government, GLA (and LA Committees), LEP and the boroughs?
- Overview of policy programme / mechanisms. How things have changed in light of the crisis.
- What mechanisms are there for participation and involvement in shaping policy for London's economy?
- Who takes up these mechanisms? What does this mean for whose interests are represented?

### *Planning for urban economic development in London*

- The role of planning in urban economic development: key tools and mechanisms
- How planning policy for urban economic development is developed – within GLA, role of the Mayor, discussions with stakeholders (which stakeholders?)
- How planning 'reads' London's economy – what matters?
- Spatial imaginaries of London's economic development – the imagined role of different places (e.g. including Newham and Haringey)

### *Urban planning for diverse economies*

- Is London's economy diverse? In what ways? What are the implications of this diversity?
- How can planning recognise the role of diversity in terms of resilience and innovation?
- How can planning recognise and harness cities' shared economic assets?
- How are social and economic development connected in London? What sort of activities and sectors offer the potential to connect social and economic development? How can planning nurture these activities?
- How are paid and unpaid work related? Does this matter? Can or should planning recognise these relationships?

## **B. Proposals for collaborative action research**

### ***i. JSEP***

#### **Just Space London Economy and Planning Group (provisional name)**

1<sup>st</sup> meeting Tuesday 9 July 5.30-7.30pm Room 517, Wates House, UCL

*Please reply to Michael [Edwards] and Myfanwy [Taylor] to confirm your attendance and/or your interest in being involved in future meetings of the group.*

On Saturday 23 March 2013, Just Space held a one-day workshop on 'Alternative Strategies for Economic Development in London'. The workshop built on previous Just Space discussions on economy, as part of our efforts to strengthen our input on economy in future London Plan Examinations in Public. 19 community and voluntary sector representatives and 10 university-based researchers attended, with discussions focussed on alternative measures of economy; re-industrialisation, and alternative strategies for local economic development. Participants were interested in continuing discussions through an email list and regular seminar series, and various ideas for things we could next were put forward e.g. compiling an evidence base; developing toolkits; documenting case studies; building university-community relationships. Presentations and workshop report are available at <http://londonjustspace.wikispaces.com/>.

In order to take this work forward, we propose that Just Space host bi-monthly meetings over a one year period (initially), with the **1st meeting on Tuesday 9 July 2013 5.30-7.30pm** in Room 517, Wates House, University College London, 22 Gordon Street, London WC1H 0QB.

The main aim is to build our capacity to raise issues of alternative economic development within the forthcoming process of developing and consulting on Further Alterations to the London Plan, from agenda setting through to the EiP in 2014. The intention is that the meetings provide a space and a process through which to develop a culture of collaboration between community groups and researchers with an interest in alternative economic development. We therefore propose that participation will be by invitation only (although we can review this), in order to build connections between Just Space member groups with a wide range

of researchers, NGO's and others. Over time, we hope to develop new language, tools and strategies, to share experiences and to develop community-research collaborations in order to strengthen our analysis and activism on alternative economies in London.

The meetings will be self-organised (i.e. through volunteer time), although the group could consider seeking funds to support aspects of its work in the future. Richard Lee, Robin Brown, Michael Edwards and Myfanwy Taylor (PhD student at UCL working on alternative economies in London) organised the previous workshop, and Myfanwy has offered to keep helping with this as part of her studies. Anyone else interested in helping with this should let Michael... or Myfanwy... know in the first instance. Meeting rooms will be available through University College London, though we could also consider alternative locations.

The 1st meeting will receive presentations on the London Plan Further Alterations process, and the economic policy scene at the GLA, and consider how the group might work and what it might do, including deciding on a name for the group, taking forward the report of the seminar on 23 March, ideas for future presentations / discussions, ideas for others to invite to the group etc.

## ***ii. Newham Network***

Proposal for collaborative research: revised following discussions

Myfanwy Taylor, UCL, 11 October 2013

*1) Work with Carpenters businesses and residents to put into action aspects of the Community Plan proposals for the local economy*

- Work with interested Carpenters residents to identify their priorities for the local economy, starting with the consultation responses to the Community Plan.

- Continue to work with Carpenters businesses, for example starting with a business meeting ahead of the delegation to the LLDC.

- Identify and connect with local business organisations and training and education colleges, in order to strength these relationships and exploring the potential for activities or resources to support the local economy.

- Develop projects, events or activities in line with the Community Plan e.g. support for start-ups; a café linked to gardening projects; local apprenticeships; making links with Building Crafts College, depending on what businesses and residents want to do.

*2) Developing the employment aspect of the Newham Network's focus on homes and jobs*

- Connect with businesses, business organisations and other relevant groups in order to draw them into discussions with the Newham Network on homes and jobs. This could include a specific meeting on jobs, if the Network wanted this.

- Bring together information about what is happening in other parts of Newham and the LLDC planning area e.g. active local business areas; active campaign groups on local economy issues; social enterprises etc.

- To support the Newham Network to engage with the LLDC local plan on jobs, if useful.

*3) As a result of 1) and 2), ongoing development of links and contacts with businesses and business organisations in Carpenters and Newham*

*Timing:* It may be that I can extend my PhD field work by three months, by seeking a 'collaboration extension' to my ESRC PhD studentship in relation to my

collaborative work with Just Space Economy and Planning group. If successful, this would mean my main work with Carpenters and Newham could continue until April 2014. The aim would be for the relationships and projects to be self-sustaining by the time that I need to reduce my involvement significantly in order to write up my PhD.

*Funds:* There are a number of UCL Public Engagement funds which I could apply to as a PhD student to support any elements of this work to which costs were involved. At this stage, it isn't clear what might be useful, but we can perhaps consider this over time.

*Relationship with my PhD research:* As per previous note, I will need to ensure this collaborative work also generates 'data' that I can use in my PhD in the form of e.g. document analysis, survey data, interview transcripts, notes and observations. This is unlikely to be a problem, based on work so far. I will need to ensure, however, that I communicate clearly to the businesses and others I am working with that I am doing research as well as volunteering, and to seek their consent to draw on discussions for my research. It would be useful to share the rough plan with Carpenters and with the Newham Network at the next opportunity, to ensure there is broad agreement to my doing this, or to refine the proposal where necessary. More generally, where meetings are relevant to my PhD, I would want to draw on these in my research, if people were happy with that. In my work with the Just Space Economy and Planning group, I have handled this by mentioning it at the beginning of every meeting and ensuring people can 'opt out' if they wish, and would like to do the same in relation to further work with Carpenters and Newham Network.



### **iii. WCC**

#### Email to WCC organising list: Sticky World - engaging WC traders and businesses

Dear all

As you know, plans are afoot to launch the Sticky World platform on Thurs 27th. Before then, we need to take the Sticky World round the traders and businesses on WC to assist them in signing in, looking through the site, and posting comments. James and Giota and others have already done this with two traders.

I will be going to do this over the next three weeks, trying to engage around 20 traders and businesses initially. In order for things to run smoothly, it is useful to have two people - and a number of the WCC Sticky World Champions (Ambassadors???) have said they are willing to help out with this. Am also including Anil as he is interested to help too. I have listed the times I intend to do this over the next weeks at - <http://piratepad.net/PvnOCQc47m> - Sticky World champions please put your name beside a slot(s) if you can help (one person per timeslot).

There are 10 AM or PM slots over the next three weeks. So to do 20 interviews we would need to do 2 per slot. This is probably realistic, but we will have to see how it goes.

It may help to have Spanish speakers for some interviews - James is going to get in touch with his friend to see if she can join, and we also have contact with Jose and Paola, researchers who are Spanish speakers. I suggest we do a few interviews where we don't need a translator, to get the hang of this first and then go round with a translator where we need. In the meantime, I have ok Spanish so hope we can manage.

At the same time as doing the Sticky World engagement, as discussed at previous meetings, we will use the chance to:

- Update the survey previously conducted by JJ of market traders
- Find out how plans are developing to re-provide the market and to begin site assembly through the CPO process in the broader site.

- Collect information that will be useful for WCC in supporting affected traders and businesses if Grainger's development plans go ahead.
- Generally build relationships between traders and businesses and WCC

Basic economic info will also feed into a broader effort to map Tottenham's local economies, linked to the Our Tottenham Local Economy group. I am collaborating with others, so far Anil and Jane Clossick (London Met architecture PhD student) to do this. The interviews will also feed into my PhD studies, which are on diverse economies, urban planning and community participation, including work with OT Local Economy group as many of you will know. Any questions or concerns about the relationship with my PhD, please do get in touch.

Thanks, Myfanwy

#### ***iv. OTLE***

### **OUR TOTTENHAM: LOCAL ECONOMY WORKING GROUP**

#### **NOTE ON PHD RESEARCH...**

**Background:** At the Our Tottenham Organising meeting on 10 December, it was agreed that I would act as rep for Local Economy and develop a Local Economy working group for Our Tottenham. The group also agreed that I could draw on this work for my PhD research, which focuses on community and business involvement in planning on economic issues in London. As there wasn't much time to discuss what this involved then, I committed to sending round a short note explaining this in more detail. I am very happy to discuss this further with anyone who wishes and to address any concerns.

**Outline of my PhD research:** I am a PhD student at University College London, working on planning and economy in London. My aim is to challenge the way in which very narrow understandings of London's economy and economic productivity (focusing in particular on financial services, creative industries, etc) leads to planning policy and decision-making which often destroys existing economic activities that support livelihoods and communities in London (Wards Corner is a prime example of this, and my involvement in WCC has influenced me a lot.) In order to challenge such approaches, I am working in collaboration with community groups in London (now including Our Tottenham), by recognising, valuing and building on economic diversity and supporting the involvement of a greater diversity of voices in planning on economic issues. My research is collaborative, both because I want the groups I am working with to benefit directly from my research and because I think the problem demands such an approach.

My three collaborative projects are:

- Working with the Just Space London-wide network of community groups active on planning issues (see <http://justspace.org.uk/>) to build their engagement on economic issues in the London Plan. Main activities are a bi-monthly seminar series, public events and a community conference.
- Supporting local businesses and residents on economic aspects of the Carpenters Community Plan and the London Legacy Development

Corporation's planning process (with London Tenants Federation and Just Space). Main activities are building relationships with and surveying local businesses; drafting local economy proposals for community plan; developing projects, events and activities.

- Acting as Our Tottenham rep for Local Economy issues, and developing a Local Economy Working Group to progress these aspects of the Our Tottenham Community Charter. Main activities and priorities to be determined through the Working Group, starting from the Community Charter.

**How will the OT Local Economy Working Group feed into my PhD?** My research activities will be led by the priorities and wishes of the Working Group, as set out above. In my work with Just Space and Carpenters so far, it has been fairly straightforward to reach agreement on research and other activities that are of mutual benefit, through clear and regular communication. Drawing on my work with OT as part of my PhD will involve my generating data that I can analyse in the form of e.g. documents, survey data, recordings and transcripts of meetings and interviews, notes and observations. I will make sure that I always communicate that I am doing research as well as supporting community planning and organising, seek consent to record and draw on interviews, and ensure people can opt-out or remain anonymous if they wish.

**Timing:** I expect to be able to commit around one day a week to the Local Economy Working Group between Jan and June 2014. After this, I intend to remain involved, but at a reduced level in order to write up my PhD, but will try to ensure continuity and sustainability of the Working Group through others by this point.

## C. Action research archive

### i. List of contents: A1 (JSEP)

DATE	DESCRIPTION
01/02/2012	Note on economy in the London Plan and Just Space representations for 2010 EiP. Describes mini-meeting held with WCC and FoQM and possibility of further JS work on the economy. Part of MSc course G007.
30/06/2012	Programme for Just Space / Urban Salon / KCL / UCL one day conference on the London Plan (included an economy workshop I facilitated)
30/06/2012	Agenda and papers and notes from Just Space conference, inc workshop in economy
11/07/2012	Note of economy workshop at Just Space conference in June 2012
04/12/2012	Meeting with Richard Lee 4pm
15/01/2013	Email invite from Richard Lee to come to anti-gentrification conference and take a note of the economy workshop
23/01/2013	Note of economy workshop at Just Space / SNAG / KCL conference
24/01/2013	Proposal for one day JS workshop on alternative economic development models for London
04/02/2013	Email chain with David Fell re JS economy conference
03/03/2013	ME comment on proposal for one day JS economy workshop
11/03/2013	Draft agenda for Just Space economy workshop 23rd March
11/03/2013	Email re: practicalities for JS economy workshop on 23rd March
21/03/2013	Email re: practicalities for JS economy workshop on 23rd March
22/03/2013	Pick up docs from Michael; JS printing
23/03/2013	Agenda, papers and notes from JS economy event 23 March
23/03/2013	MT presentation on diverse London economy for JS one day conference
23/03/2013	JS Economy Event
08/05/2013	Note of mtg with RL, ME and RB re: follow-ups from JS economy event 23 March
25/05/2013	Email exchange with RL, ME and RB re: proposal for JSEP, for discussion at JS mtg 28 May
25/05/2013	Proposal for JSEP
25/05/2013	Email chain re: setting up JSEP group, note for Just Space mtg on 28th May
28/05/2013	Agenda, papers and notes from JS mtg 28 May at which JSEP proposal was discussed
28/05/2013	Just Space mtg 2pm
29/05/2013	Email and draft JS response (drafted by me) to consultation on Town Centres SPG
30/05/2013	MT input into JS submission on Town Centres SPG
31/05/2013	Email chain re: first JSEP mtg
03/06/2013	Email from ME re: conversation with John Lett re: London Plan etc
03/06/2013	Email from ME re: info from JL re: next London Plan
05/06/2013	Invitation to first JSEP mtg
07/06/2013	Email from me inviting people to 1st JSEP mtg on 9 July
19/06/2013	Email chain re Aditya Chakraborty Londonstan article

27/06/2013	Email chain re: economy workshop at Just Space conference on London Plan 30th June
03/07/2013	Note of discussion with ME, RL and RB re: JSEP
03/07/2013	12-2pm Just Space
09/07/2013	5.30-7.30 Just Space Economy and Planning group
09/07/2013	Agenda, papers, attendees list and notes from 1st JSEP mtg 9 July
09/07/2013	Summary of Mayor of London's 2020 Vision document for 9th July JSEP mtg
09/07/2013	Note of first JSEP mtg 9th July
09/07/2013	Email chain ahead of first JSEP meeting inc comments re relationship with PhD
14/07/2013	JS note
22/07/2013	2.30pm David Fell and co - Housmann
22/07/2013	Note and follow-up email from meeting with DF, ME, RB and RL after 1st JSEP mtg
22/07/2013	Email chain re meeting up in Aug to discuss JSEP draft forward programme
12/08/2013	JSEP mtg 2pm
12/08/2013	JSEP mtg note and prep
16/08/2013	Email follow-up from 1st JSEP mtg(s) inc next meeting date and forward programme
16/08/2013	Invite to Nick Athientis, PA Finlay, for 2nd JSEP mtg
16/08/2013	Draft JSEP forward programme
18/08/2013	Email chain re mtg up in July re JSEP with David Fell
22/08/2013	Transcript, note and analysis of March JS economy workshop
05/09/2013	Draft JSEP forward programme
05/09/2013	Note for JSEP bit of Just Space website
05/09/2013	Email with Elena re JSEP calendar
06/09/2013	2pm RL at Housmann Room
06/09/2013	Draft agenda and forward programme for discussion with RL
06/09/2013	Email exchange with RL re: mtg up to discuss JSEP actions
11/09/2013	2pm Michael and Richard
11/09/2013	Note of mtg with RL and ME encompassing many items inc JSEP and next steps re: Newham Network
25/09/2013	JS website with Michael
25/09/2013	JS Economy and Planning meeting
25/09/2013	Agenda, papers and notes from 2nd JSEP meeting 25 Sept
25/09/2013	Agenda, papers and notes from 2nd JSEP meeting 25 Sept
02/10/2013	JF and ME meeting
02/10/2013	Email and note of mtg with ME and JF re: affordable workspace project
15/10/2013	JSEP 6.30-8.30pm
22/10/2013	JSEP 6.30-8.30pm
22/10/2013	Agenda, papers and notes from JSEP organising mtg 22 Oct
22/10/2013	Agenda, papers and notes for JSEP Oct organising meeting 22 Oct
29/10/2013	Email to GT re organising next JSEP mtg
29/10/2013	Reply to GT re JSEP meeting
29/10/2013	Proposal for Collaboration Funding for ESRC draft 1
30/10/2013	Email chain with JF re industrial estates
31/10/2013	Draft JSEP terms of reference
06/11/2013	Email chain with RL re collaboration extension

06/11/2013	Proposal for Collaboration Funding for ESRC draft 2
08/11/2013	Email chain with RL and JF re community collab on local econ activity
13/11/2013	Email chain re JSEP meeting with GT
27/11/2013	Information on London economy and campaigns for LTF conference compiled from JS and JSEP activities
28/11/2013	Final JSEP statement of intent
28/11/2013	Final JSEP letter to the LEP
28/11/2013	Proposal for Collaboration Funding for ESRC draft 3
30/11/2013	Papers and notes from London Tenants Federation conference re: Opportunity Areas and Intensification Areas.
03/12/2013	JSEP
03/12/2013	Proposal for JSEP public event draft 1
03/12/2013	Proposal for JSEP public event draft 2
04/12/2013	JS-LP preps 3-5pm
05/12/2013	Agenda, papers, notes and follow-up from 3rd JSEP meeting 5 December
05/12/2013	Agenda, notes and papers from 3rd JSEP meeting 5th Dec
09/12/2013	Email chain with RL following JSEP mtg
10/12/2013	Email exchange with Tom Chance re: JSEP public event
12/12/2013	Note of discussion with RL in which we review JSEP so far and discuss next steps with Carpenters and UCL-Just Space volunteers.
15/12/2013	JSEP
17/12/2013	Final JSEP letter to the LEP
17/12/2013	Proposal for JSEP public event draft 3
17/12/2013	Proposal for JSEP public event draft 4
17/12/2013	Email chain re industrial conservation at HWFI
17/12/2013	Email re: next steps JSEP
17/12/2013	Email re prep for next JSEP mtg to JF and EJ
19/12/2013	Email from RL to JF and EJ re aff workspace in Hackney
09/01/2014	Email chain re viability
10/01/2014	Email chain re JSEP aff workspace mtg
15/01/2014	MT comments on economic aspects of GLA's draft housing strategy
15/01/2014	Note of economy workshop at LTF conference on GLA's draft housing strategy
15/01/2014	Email chain with GT and MB to follow up on JSEP mtg
16/01/2014	9.30am Jess Ferm
17/01/2014	Email chain with Joe Penny re JSEP public event and nef
21/01/2014	Email chain re JSEP aff workspace mtg
22/01/2014	Note of discussion RL, RB and ME re: JSEP and FALP
27/01/2014	6.30pm JSEP
27/01/2014	Agenda, papers and notes from 4th JSEP meeting 27 Jan re: affordable workspace
27/01/2014	Agenda, notes and papers from 4th JSEP meeting 27th Jan
27/01/2014	ME notes on Chapter 4 of the FALP
28/01/2014	Another email chain with GT and RL re JSEP event plus OT event
31/01/2014	Draft JSEP letter to the London Enterprise Panel
31/01/2014	London Plan launch event GLA
31/01/2014	Note of FALP launch event at City Hall
01/02/2014	Various other emails to fix this conference up during Feb
04/02/2014	2pm Meet Hero (PEACH) in Custom House
04/02/2014	Email chain re PEACH

06/02/2014	FALP Consultation Business Event Email Chain
07/02/2014	UCL / JS re: London Plan FALP
07/02/2014	Email chain re first JSEP public event
10/02/2014	Email chain with GT re JSEP handbook
11/02/2014	Linking up re assets of community value
13/02/2014	3pm JS meeting Wates House
13/02/2014	Note of JS meeting re: FALP
13/02/2014	Just Space meeting agenda
13/02/2014	Email chain with GT re JSEP handbook
13/02/2014	Email chain re PEACH and business lawyers
21/02/2014	Email re Just Space FALP events
25/02/2014	Email to Sue T following up on JSEP stuff
27/02/2014	Email to JSEP re: Further Alterations to the London Plan
27/02/2014	Email re JSEP and FALP
03/03/2014	Email chain re PEACH
04/03/2014	Draft agenda, prep and notes for JSEP meeting re: FALP
04/03/2014	Summary of Chapter 4 of FALP
05/03/2014	Email chain with EB re Camley St
05/03/2014	Note of discussion after G007 re: JS FALP conference and next steps re: Carpenters
06/03/2014	Note of GLA FALP community event organised with Just Space
07/03/2014	Email chain re aff workspace mtg in Hackney
07/03/2014	Request to chair plenary of JS FALP conference
11/03/2014	Email to JSEP email list re: 20 March FALP meeting
11/03/2014	Email chain re JSEP next steps
13/03/2014	John Lett presentation to the FALP Launch Event
14/03/2014	Just Space conference stuff
15/03/2014	JS FALP conference
15/03/2014	Agenda, papers, prep and notes for JS FALP conference 20 March
15/03/2014	Background notes and note of economy workshop from Just Space FALP conference 15th March
17/03/2014	Email to Suzi Hall re JSEP and FALP
18/03/2014	FALP business consultation event; email confirmation, attendees list and notes
18/03/2014	Note of phone call with Suzi Hall, LSE
18/03/2014	ME email to IG re JSEP FALP
19/03/2014	Email to TB and LV re JSEP FALP
19/03/2014	Email invites to JS FALP Followup events
20/03/2014	6pm JSEP mtg
20/03/2014	Agenda, papers and next steps email for JSEP meeting 20 March re: FALP
20/03/2014	Agenda, notes and papers for JSEP FALP specialist meeting
20/03/2014	Email chain re prepping JSEP FALP specialist mtg
20/03/2014	Email chain with GT and MB re retail and viability and FALP{
23/03/2014	Framework, research and community case studies for JSEP FALP response
23/03/2014	loads of emails, trying to get people involved in the JSEP FALP response.
23/03/2014	Email follow up from JSEP FALP specialist mtg
24/03/2014	Newham / Hackney Network mtg re: FALP and affordable workspace



24/03/2014	Agenda and notes from Newham / Hackney Network mtg on local economy and FALP
29/03/2014	JSEP FALP response and pack
29/03/2014	Email to JSEP seeking input to response to FALP
29/03/2014	Draft JSEP FALP response from Google Docs
29/03/2014	Email re JSE mtg to agree FALP submission that I missed
04/04/2014	6PM JSEP mtg
04/04/2014	140404 JSEP FALP Email Exchange - re process
06/04/2014	FALP event at GLA
07/04/2014	Draft JSEP FALP response from Google Docs
07/04/2014	140407 Email exchange re FSB and FALP
07/04/2014	140407 Input from PEACH to JSEP FALP response
07/04/2014	140407 Me trying to get input from Carpenters to JSEP FALP response
07/04/2014	140407 Email with RB re FALP and JSEP
07/04/2014	140407 Input from Nick Woolven to JSEP FALP response
07/04/2014	140407 Including Peckham Vision in JSEP FALP
07/04/2014	140407 JSEP Near Final FALP response email
08/04/2014	Draft JSEP FALP response from Google Docs
08/04/2014	140408 Input from Tom Bolton for JSEP FALP response
08/04/2014	140408 Input from Tott Biz Group to JSEP FALP
08/04/2014	140408 Email re Just Space and JSEP responses
08/04/2014	140408 Evidence from HWFI for JSEP FALP response
08/04/2014	140408 Input from AMcM and JE to JSEP FALP
08/04/2014	140408 Michael Ball input to JSEP FALP
08/04/2014	140408 Email re individual JSEP member responses to FALP
08/04/2014	140408 Input from Hackney groups to JSEP FALP
08/04/2014	140408 Smart and Tech City stuff in the JSEP FALP response
08/04/2014	140408 JSEP member responses to the FALP
09/04/2014	Robin and Richard in Housmann re: JSEP FALP response
09/04/2014	Note of discussion with RL and RB re: JSEP draft FALP response etc
09/04/2014	Draft JSEP FALP response from Google Docs
10/04/2014	FALP deadline
10/04/2014	Extract from JSEP FALP response for Just Space
10/04/2014	Draft JSEP FALP response from Google Docs at 11.45am
10/04/2014	Draft JSEP FALP response from Google Docs at 2.30pm
10/04/2014	Final JSEP FALP response
10/04/2014	140410 GT's viability submission to the FALP
11/04/2014	140411 ME feedback re JSEP FALP response
12/04/2014	140412 JSEP Handbook Idea
23/04/2014	Proposal for UCL PEU Funding for JSEP Handbook Final
25/04/2014	140425 Email exchange with Fiona Scott
27/04/2014	Just Space report
27/04/2014	Just Space report
01/05/2014	140501 Email re LEP EDP
01/05/2014	Lots of emails trying to fix up JSEP mtg with trades unions
03/05/2014	140503 Email re FALP evidence base
09/05/2014	Note of discussion with ME re: JSEP next steps
10/05/2014	140510 Email re E&C Viability Fol
14/05/2014	Robin and Richard re: JSEP

14/05/2014	Note of discussion with RL and RB re: JSEP public event
21/05/2014	140521 Email re next steps JSEP
24/05/2014	150524 Email re FALP oral evidence
24/05/2014	140524 Email re LEP Engagement Events
26/05/2014	140526 Reply from Robin re FALP oral evidence
29/05/2014	Mtg with Rachel Laurence at nef
29/05/2014	Note of mtg with Rachel Laurence at nef
30/05/2014	140530 Email chain with Rachel Laurence nef
01/06/2014	Loads of emails in which I am trying to secure people to speak at JSEP public event
05/06/2014	140605 Email chain with RL re JSEP public event
09/06/2014	JSEP Events Prep Sheet (bi-monthly meetings and public event)
09/06/2014	140609 JSEP Next mtg in June
10/06/2014	140610 Email chain with nef re JSEP on 20th June
10/06/2014	140610 Email from Fiona Scott re FALP
11/06/2014	Note of Future of London event
12/06/2014	10am Interview with Matthew Waite, GLA
12/06/2014	Call Liz Cox at nef
17/06/2014	LEP engagement event @ The Chocolate Factory
17/06/2014	Agenda and papers for LEP North London engagement event, The Chocolate Factory
17/06/2014	Notes from LEP NE London Engagement event at the Chocolate Factory
17/06/2014	140617 Email re JSEP meeting on 20th June
18/06/2014	Lunch with George Turner re: handbook
18/06/2014	JSEP public event prep sheet
18/06/2014	Note of mtg with George Turner re: JSEP handbook
20/06/2014	4pm Laurie Heselden, Congress House
20/06/2014	6pm JSEP mtg at LSE
20/06/2014	Note of mtg with Laurie Heselden re: JSEP and SERTUC
20/06/2014	Agenda, papers, prep and notes from 5th JSEP meeting 20 June re: an economic development plan for London
20/06/2014	Agenda, notes and papers from JSEP 5th meeting 20th June
20/06/2014	140620 Email chain with Roy and Michael etc re London First and JSEP
22/06/2014	Update on confirmed speakers for JSEP Public Event
22/06/2014	Email re: action points from 5th JSEP mtg on 20 June
22/06/2014	Update re: JSEP public event v1
22/06/2014	Update re: JSEP public event v2
25/06/2014	140625 Email chain with Laurie Heselden SERTUC
01/07/2014	Eventbrite stuff for JSEP public event
02/07/2014	JSEP Public Event Invite
03/07/2014	Email exchange with Rachel Laurence nef re: 14 July event
03/07/2014	Draft JSEP programme v1
03/07/2014	Draft JSEP programme v2
03/07/2014	140703 JSEP Public Meeting Final Prep
03/07/2014	140703 Email chain with London First re LEP EDP
04/07/2014	Just Space mtg 2-5pm
04/07/2014	Agenda, paper, prep and notess for Just Space mtg 4 July re: FALP EIP
04/07/2014	JSEP Event Prep Sheet

07/07/2014	Dan Hopewell 10.30am at BBBC
07/07/2014	RL and RB 3pm at UCL
07/07/2014	LEP Advisory Group mtg
07/07/2014	Note of discussion with Dan Hopewell at BBBC re: JSEP public event
07/07/2014	Note of mtg with RB and RL re: JSEP public event plus draft programme as discussed
07/07/2014	Invite, slidepack and notes from LEP advisory group mtg re: EDP for London, 7 July
08/07/2014	JSEP response to Inspector's draft matters
08/07/2014	Draft JSEP programme v3-v7
08/07/2014	JSEP response to Inspector's draft matters v1
08/07/2014	JSEP response to Inspector's draft matters v2
08/07/2014	140708 FALP EiP people getting their own seat
08/07/2014	140708 Email re JSEP draft response to Inspectors draft matters
08/07/2014	140708 Practicalities for JSEP Public Event
10/07/2014	3pm David Fell
10/07/2014	Note of discussion with David Fell re: JSEP public event
14/07/2014	JSEP public event
14/07/2014	Agenda, paper and notes for JSEP public event 14 July
14/07/2014	Agenda, papers and notes for JSEP Public Event 14th July
15/07/2014	Draft blog from JSEP public event v1
15/07/2014	Draft blog from JSEP public event v2
15/07/2014	Draft email for JSEP public event attendees
15/07/2014	JSEP Next Steps
18/07/2014	140718 Email feedback from RL following JSEP public event
18/07/2014	140718 GT decision to challenge Shell Development
18/07/2014	140718 LEP Engagement Events Email
20/07/2014	JSEP Report back to Just Space v1
20/07/2014	JSEP Report back to Just Space v2
20/07/2014	JSEP Report back to Just Space v3
20/07/2014	Note of conversation with Richard Lee
21/07/2014	Final email to JSEP public event attendees
24/07/2014	140724 Request from Tom Chance re industry
05/08/2014	Call Michael Edwards
05/08/2014	Note of chat with RL re Just Space, JSEP and FALP
06/08/2014	JSEP mtg re: EiP
06/08/2014	Meeting with Ed re: handbook, George Farha café, UCL
06/08/2014	Agenda and papers from JSEP EiP prep meeting 8 Aug with RL and RB
06/08/2014	Agenda and note from JSEP FALP meeting
06/08/2014	140730 Email about JSEP FALP mtg in Aug
07/08/2014	Draft 1 JSEP Written Statement for FALP EiP
08/08/2014	Mtg with Rachel and NEON guy with RL at nef
08/08/2014	140808 Email with Patria re Latin Elephant and FALP - plus several other emails that I havent saved, to each person using the JSEP seat
08/08/2014	Notes from mtg with RL and nef
11/08/2014	Draft 2 JSEP Written Statement for FALP EiP
11/08/2014	Final JSEP Written Statement for FALP EiP
11/08/2014	140811 Email re JSEP written statement for FALP
14/08/2014	Mtg with Gemma Moore (PEU) at Housmann

20/08/2014	Saved versions of all the other written statements for FALP EiP Session 6 (Employment)
20/08/2014	Saved versions of all the other written statements for FALP EiP Session 7 (Retail and Town Centres)
20/08/2014	Summary of written statements for FALP EiP Session 6 (Employment)
20/08/2014	Summary of written statements for FALP EiP Session 7 (Retail and Town Centres)
31/08/2014	Inspector's updated participant list for the FALP EiP
01/09/2014	Further change from GLA re digital connectivity
04/09/2014	140904 Email to JSEP re FALP and next steps
05/09/2014	JSEP Briefing for FALP EiP Session 6 v1
05/09/2014	JSEP Briefing for FALP EiP Session 7 v1
05/09/2014	JSEP prep mtg for FALP EiP
05/09/2014	JSEP FALP EiP Prep Meeting
08/09/2014	List of documents for EiP Library with justifications (Session 6)
08/09/2014	List of documents for EiP Library with justifications (Session 7)
08/09/2014	140908 Email chain re FALP EiP Library
08/09/2014	140908 Last minute research from MB re FALP
09/09/2014	Notes from EiP Session 6 Tues 9th Sept
09/09/2014	140909 More last minute info from MB for FALP the next day
09/09/2014	EiP Session 6 (Employment)
10/09/2014	MT prep for EiP Qu7a
10/09/2014	MT speaking notes for EiP Qu7a
10/09/2014	140910 Dialogue with Patria before FALP
10/09/2014	140910 MB followup re broadband from FALP
10/09/2014	MT notes from FALP EiP on Session 7, mainly where I was sitting at the table so couldn't type on my laptop. Also all my prep and speaking notes
10/09/2014	Mtg with Hero (PEACH) to prep for EiP Session 7
11/09/2014	List of documents for EiP Library with justifications (Session 7)
11/09/2014	Notes from EiP Session 7 Thurs 11th Sept
11/09/2014	EiP Session 7 (Retail & Town Centres)
13/09/2014	JSEP first year review and next steps mtg
16/09/2014	140916 JSEP response to the LEP EDP
16/09/2014	140916 Inspector response to 2nd lot of JSEP Evidence Base Documents
17/09/2014	140917 Feedback from RL and ME re JSEP FALP
18/09/2014	Draft JSEP reply to LEP EDP consultation
18/09/2014	140918 Just Space EiP Reflections Paper.docx
19/09/2014	Final JSEP reply to LEP EDP consultation
19/09/2014	140919 ME response to LEP EDP consultation
19/09/2014	140919 JF response to LEP EDP consultation
19/09/2014	140919 PRV response to LEP EDP consultation
19/09/2014	140919 EC response to LEP EDP consultation
30/09/2014	140930 Email re JSEP first year review and next steps
01/10/2014	Updated JSEP report to Just Space
01/10/2014	Notes from Just Space meeting to reflect on the EiP re: JSEP/economy stuff
01/10/2014	141001 Email re Just Space meeting
01/10/2014	Just Space meeting inc review of FALP EiP and JSEP first year
01/10/2014	Just Space mtg

09/10/2014	Prep for JSEP review and next steps meeting
09/10/2014	141009 Mayoral qu on perm dev consultation on ind land
09/10/2014	Speak with David Fell re: JSEP first year review and next steps
10/10/2014	Updated (again) JSEP report to Just Space
13/10/2014	Agenda, papers and notes for 6th JSEP meeting: review and next steps
13/10/2014	141013 Comments from RB for JSEP review mtg
13/10/2014	141013 Input from RL for JSEP review mtg
13/10/2014	Agenda, papers and notes for 6th JSEP meeting: review and next steps
19/10/2014	141019 JSEP meeting with the LEP email chain
21/10/2014	141021 Mark Brearley and JSEP
27/10/2014	141027 More from Mark Brearley
Not dated	Note of discussion re: JS economy event
Not dated	Proposal for JSEP
Not dated	Note of discussion with RL re: 2nd JSEP mtg 25 September
Not dated	Notes from discussion with ME re: Just Space website
Not dated	Annotated draft of the JSEP response to the FALP
Not dated	Invite for JSEP public event
Not dated	Draft 2 of JSEP programme for public event
Not dated	Costings for refreshments for JSEP public event
Not dated	Note of skype call with Polly Trenow Women's Budget Group
Not dated	Note on preparation of JSEP FALP final matters response
Not dated	Early note of discussion with Richard, Robin and Michael re: one day alternative economies conference

**ii. List of contents: A2 (Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network)**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>
01/06/2012	Resident Newsletter from Newham Council
11/06/2012	Email chain with Ben Campkin re: PARN and UCL Stratford
12/06/2012	Student meeting in support of Carpenters, Central House, UCL
12/06/2012	UCL Urban Lab Newham Workshop re: UCL Stratford
28/06/2012	Draft paper from the Urban Lab re: UCL Stratford
28/06/2012	Final UCL Urban Lab paper on UCL Stratford
11/07/2012	Email exchange re: UCL Stratford and Urban Lab role
21/07/2012	Student organised Anti Gentrification Tour of Carpenters Estate
17/08/2012	Comments on Urban Lab Paper from John Johnson
01/09/2012	UCL Stratford flyer for residents
01/09/2012	Update for Carpenters residents re: UCL Stratford
11/09/2012	John Johnson presentation to Carpenters residents re: UCL Stratford
17/09/2012	Meeting of Urban Lab staff + students re: Carpenters
19/09/2012	Note of UCL Stratford catch-up
21/09/2012	Response from UCL Urban Lab to comments from John Johnson etc re: UCL Urban Lab paper on UCL Stratford
21/09/2012	Draft press release re: UCL Urban Lab public debate drafted by me
22/09/2012	Open Letter from UCL Urban Lab and DPU re Carpenters
24/09/2012	CARP meeting
29/09/2012	Email exchange re feedback from Urban Lab people on Carpenters Presentation to residents
30/09/2012	Note of research and teaching mtg re Carpenters
11/10/2012	UCL Stratford proposition
25/10/2012	Newham Council press notice re: UCL Stratford after Council meeting
31/10/2012	UCL-Stratford meeting 6pm
31/10/2012	Notes of UCL Bulldozing a community event
31/10/2012	Michael Edwards write up of the bulldozing event
05/11/2012	Action points from Carpenters Community Plan mtg
14/11/2012	UCL student meeting re: Carpenters, Harrie Massey
16/11/2012	Letter to UCL Council re Carpenters Estate
23/11/2012	Flyering in UCL quad re: UCL Stratford
25/11/2012	Email to PyGyRg re: Carpenters demo
27/11/2012	Flyering in UCL quad re: UCL Stratford
27/11/2012	UCLU Press Release re Carpenters demo
27/11/2012	Email re Carpenters actions
27/11/2012	My email to UCL Geography list re: Carpenters
28/11/2012	Demonstration against UCL Stratford in UCL Quad
28/11/2012	Various emails from UCL geographers re: Carpenters
29/11/2012	Email from Head of Department re: Carpenters
30/11/2012	Email from Richard Lee re: local economy mapping
04/12/2012	Email from Joe Alexander re: planned CARP and affiliates mtg
04/12/2012	List of businesses as at 4th Dec 2012
04/12/2012	Initial list of businesses from walkabout
05/12/2012	CARP research mtg, Carpenters Arms Pub
02/01/2013	Question tabled to the Mayor re Carpenters
09/01/2013	Bartlett Carpenters mtg Room 517
09/01/2013	Note of Bartlett Carpenters Discussion

09/01/2013	Invitation to Bartlett Mtg re Carpenters
13/01/2013	Map of Carpenters Estate from Joe for walkabout
17/01/2013	Think and Drink Policy Analysis Email
23/01/2013	Email exchange with Joe etc re: local economy mapping and Carpenters Community Plan
24/01/2013	Think and Drink - reviewing policy documents for Carpenters
24/01/2013	Note of Think and Drink Discussion
24/01/2013	Email exchange re: Bartlett mtg re: Carpenters
31/01/2013	Carpenters Business Survey 12-4pm
31/01/2013	Copy of blank questionnaire for Carpenters Business Survey
31/01/2013	Electronic copy of Carpenters Business Questionnaire
04/02/2013	3pm Housman with RL, SH and JR
04/02/2013	Call Carpenters Businesses
11/02/2013	Carpenters Workshop
11/02/2013	Agenda, papers, notes and prep work for Carpenters Community Plan workshop
11/02/2013	Electronic copy of agenda for Carpenters Estate Community Plan workshop including local economy discussion
11/02/2013	List of businesses as at 11th Feb 2013
11/02/2013	Draft note of Carpenters workshop, done for Sharon Hayward
11/02/2013	Note prepared for Carpenters workshop on local economy
11/02/2013	Draft text for Carpenters Community Plan including local economy
11/02/2013	Notes from Carpenters walkabout re: green space
11/02/2013	Email re Carpenters Community Plan workshop
14/02/2013	Email to SH and RL re: research on Carpenters Estate
21/02/2013	Email to JA, RL and SH re: update on local economy aspects of community plan
25/02/2013	Questionnaires for pilot interviews with Carpenters businesses
26/02/2013	11am Ben at Carpenters and Docklands Centre
26/02/2013	6pm Alexandre, BMA Ltd, Rowse Close
26/02/2013	ACME/GP; call in on new businesses; drop in to newsagent today (fixed)
27/02/2013	Email to Joe, Sharon and Richard re: initial interviews with Carpenters businesses
27/02/2013	Local economy aspects of community plan - Update
01/03/2013	CARP newsletter March 2013
04/03/2013	Call Seamus re: int this week
04/03/2013	Call Ian SWW also
04/03/2013	Go and see Jack one night this week - 6pm
04/03/2013	Go and see Mr Patel one am
11/03/2013	UCL Stratford 6pm
12/03/2013	Carpenters Interviews
14/03/2013	Carpenters Interviews
15/03/2013	Interviews @ Carpenters Centre today (they said Fri good)
18/03/2013	Analysis of local economy policies for Carpenters Think and Drink
18/03/2013	Notes of interview with Ben North, for Ben (he asked for this as he wanted to use the figures etc)
19/03/2013	6pm Jack
20/03/2013	Local economy policy analysis for Carpenters by now
21/03/2013	Email update re Local Economy aspects of Community Plan
24/03/2013	Note of Carpenters Community Plan mtg

25/03/2013	Community plan meeting
25/03/2013	Note and papers from Carpenters community plan meeting
25/03/2013	First draft text of local economy section for Carpenters Community Plan
25/03/2013	List of businesses as at 25th March 2013
25/03/2013	Draft text for Carpenters Community Plan for 25th March mtg
25/03/2013	Draft text for Carpenters Community Plan for 25th March mtg plus MT comments
25/03/2013	Draft text for Community Plan Exhibition Local Economy Board
25/03/2013	2nd Draft text for Community Plan Exhibition Local Economy Board
25/03/2013	Exhibition Display Text plus Questionnaire
25/03/2013	Exhibition Display Text plus Questionnaire (survey only)
25/03/2013	Email exchange re community plan mtg and local economy aspects
25/03/2013	Email to Carpenters Biz re community plan mtg
26/04/2013	Call Nick: supporter; venue; vehicle; mtg with TMO
02/05/2013	Carpenters PM; Nick 5pm (also Sharon)
02/05/2013	Notes of discussions with Carpenters businesses re: community plan exhibition (Jack, Mr Patel, Ben North, Nick Finlay)
06/05/2013	Email to RL, SH, JA and OM re: discussions with businesses re: Carpenters Community Plan exhibition
08/05/2013	Email to SH updating her on business sponsors/signatories to the community plan and preps for the exhibition
08/05/2013	Extract from Provost's Newsletter re decision to pull out of Carpenters
08/05/2013	Carpenters Community Plan Exhibition Invite
13/05/2013	Jack at ACME 12.30
13/05/2013	Note of meeting with Jack, ACME, and papers about ACME
16/05/2013	Carpenters work
17/05/2013	Carpenters work
17/05/2013	Carpenters Business Directory for exhibition
20/05/2013	Images from SWW for Exhibition
21/05/2013	10-1 Carpenters work
22/05/2013	Email chain between SH and JA re: Carpenters questionnaire accompanying the exhibition and confirmation from LLDC re: meeting during the exhibition
23/05/2013	LLDC mtg at Carpenters exhibition
23/05/2013	Carpenters business mtg at Carpenters exhibition
23/05/2013	Note of and prep for meeting with LLDC and Carpenters business meeting
23/05/2013	10 key objectives flyer from Carpeners Community Plan exhibition
23/05/2013	Plaques to deceased Builders Arms customers - for printing for the Community Plan exhibition
23/05/2013	More photos for printing for Community Plan Exhibition
23/05/2013	More again photos for printing for Community Plan Exhibition
06/06/2013	Open letter from Joe
19/06/2013	Carpenters work
20/06/2013	Carpenters work
02/07/2013	Carpenters business mtg
02/07/2013	Prep, agenda, papers, notes and follow-up from follow-up mtg with Carpenters businesses
02/07/2013	Proposed agenda for follow-up meeting with Carpenters businesses
02/07/2013	List of businesses as at 2nd July 2013



02/07/2013	Note of first Carpenters businesses mtg
10/07/2013	Carpenters work
10/07/2013	Agenda, papers, notes and follow-up from 1st Newham Network mtg on 10th July
14/07/2013	Carpenters
16/08/2013	Development planned for the High Street
21/08/2013	Note of phone-call with SH preparing for Carpenters Community Plan launch mtg 3 Sept
23/08/2013	Email to SH re: questionnaires from businesses
23/08/2013	Consultation analysis from businesses from SH
23/08/2013	Consultation analysis from businesses from SH plus MT input
23/08/2013	Letter to Carpenters Estate residents - from SH
23/08/2013	Letter to residents adapted by me for businesses
27/08/2013	Go to drop round flyers with Carpenters businesses
29/08/2013	LLDC mtg re: local plan 6.45-8.45
29/08/2013	Agenda, papers and notes from 2nd Newham Network mtg re: LLDC local plan 29th August
30/08/2013	Email to SH and RL re helping with LLDC plan
01/09/2013	Report of community engagement for Carpenters Community Plan (drafted by SH)
03/09/2013	Carpenters community plan launch at Docklands. Set up earlier.
03/09/2013	Notes and prep for Carpenters Community Plan launch mtg 3rd Sept
03/09/2013	Speaking notes on local economy for launch of Carpenters Community Plan
05/09/2013	Thankyou emails to Nick Finlay and Nikita BMA Ltd re: Carpenters Community Plan launch
05/09/2013	Newham Network research and volunteering draft note
11/09/2013	Note of mtg with RL and ME encompassing many items inc JSEP and next steps re: Newham Network
24/09/2013	6.30pm Carpenters
24/09/2013	Agenda, papers and notes from Carpenters Community Plan mtg with the LLDC
25/09/2013	Draft proposal for further research and support re: Carpenters local economy
27/09/2013	Carpenters Community Plan (electronic copy)
03/10/2013	Email to SH with proposal for further collaborative research with Carpenters businesses
03/10/2013	Draft proposal for further research and support re: Carpenters local economy
11/10/2013	Revised proposal for further collaborative research with Carpenters
11/10/2013	Draft proposal for further research and support re: Carpenters local economy
11/10/2013	Email exchange with SH re further research on LLDC local plan
14/10/2013	Email exchange with RL re research proposal for LLDC and Carpenters
21/10/2013	Newham Network mtg
21/10/2013	Agenda, papers and notes from 3rd Newham Network meeting on the localism act
04/11/2013	MT comments on JR funding application for Beacon Bursaries re Carpenters Community Plan work
05/11/2013	Final Beacon Application from JR

02/12/2013	Email to Nick Finlay and Nikita BMA Ltd re: mtg with LLDC and Carpenters Community Plan delegation
12/12/2013	Note of important discussion with RL in which we review JSEP so far and discuss next steps with Carpenters and UCL-Just Space volunteers.
14/01/2014	Email exchange with Gudrun Andrews re: employment projections for LLDC draft local plan
16/01/2014	6.30pm Newham Network mtg at St Johns
16/01/2014	Prep, notes, and papers from Newham Network mtg 16th Oct re: LLDC local plan - formulating model responses
16/01/2014	Note of Newham Network mtg re: draft LLDC local plan
16/01/2014	Notes prepared re: local economy for Newham Network mtg re: draft LLDC local plan
16/01/2014	Newham Network research and volunteering draft note
29/01/2014	Carpenters model response
29/01/2014	MT changes on local economy for response to LLDC draft local plan
07/02/2014	HWFI CIG response to draft LLDC local plan
10/02/2014	Email from Ben re Carpenters and Docklands Centre response to draft LLDC local plan
14/02/2014	Draft response to draft LLDC local plan - MT comments and input re: local economy
18/02/2014	Letter re financial concerns about Carpenters TMO
05/03/2014	Note of discussion after G007 re: JS FALP conference and next steps re: Carpenters
12/03/2014	Email to JA, RL and SH re: update on local economy aspects of community plan
24/03/2014	Newham and Hackney Network mtg re: FALP and affordable workspace
24/03/2014	Agenda and notes from Newham and Hackney Network mg on local economy and FALP, plus also the many many notes relating to the UCL Just Space volunteers who wanted to work on Newham local economy
08/05/2014	1.30pm Richard Lee at Housmann re: Carpenters
08/05/2014	Note of discussion with RL re: next steps with Carpenters
23/05/2014	Mtg with Isaac re: HW&FI
23/05/2014	Mtg with Mara re: project in HW&FI
23/05/2014	Note of discussion with Isaac re: Carpenters, HW&FI and LLDC
27/05/2014	Carpenters (3pm Ben North)
27/05/2014	Note of meeting with Ben North, Carpenters and Docklands Centre
28/05/2014	3pm Nick Finlay
28/05/2014	Note of discussions with Nick Finlay and Nikita BMA Ltd
30/05/2014	Email to SH and RL re Remaining Carpenters research
13/06/2014	Carpenters Business Group sign-up form
19/06/2014	Note of visits to Carpenters businesses, including Mr Patel (newsagent) and Andy Whale at moo.com
14/07/2014	List of businesses as at 14th July 2014
17/07/2014	Carpenters work (pm)
18/07/2014	Update re Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum
22/07/2014	Poster advertising Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum Meeting
22/08/2014	Note of phone call with SH re: LLDC Local Plan
22/09/2014	Prep for LLDC local plan mtg

24/09/2014	Note of phone call with SH re: 29th Sept mtg re: LLDC Local Plan
29/09/2014	Invitation to LLDC local plan events on 22nd and 29th Sept
29/09/2014	Prep for LLDC local plan mtg
29/09/2014	List of attendees for mtg
29/09/2014	Summary of HWFI sub-area chapter
29/09/2014	Economy chapter prep
29/09/2014	Economy Workshop Notes
29/09/2014	Economy Workshop Notes - what was left after I cobbled it into a draft response to the LLDC draft plan
29/09/2014	Summary of economy chapter of LLDC local plan
02/10/2014	Draft text for model response to LLDC local plan
03/10/2014	141006 Robin Wales comment re Focus E15
06/10/2014	Update from UCL re: Olympic Campus - sent to Joe
06/10/2014	Email to Carpenters Businesses re responding to LLDC local plan
06/10/2014	Email to attendees of LLDC local plan workshop re: local economy
06/10/2014	Carpenters model response to LLDC local plan
06/10/2014	Economy chapter model response
06/10/2014	LLDC Local Plan Response Form
19/10/2014	Email from Karen Tang ACME Rose Close tenant re LLDC draft plan
Not dated	Note of phone call with Clare, GP surgery
Not dated	Summary from me of relevant planning documents relating to Carpenters on local economy issues for Think and Drink
Not dated	Note re: Carpenters
Not dated	Note of discussion with SH, RL, Helen and TV on preparations for Carpenters Community Plan exhibition
Not dated	Notes of discussions with Carpenters businesses re: UCL decision to pull out, community plan sponsorship and materials for exhibition (BMA Ltd, ACME, Jack at Garage, Mr Patel at newsagent, Ben North, IB Medical, Unitas Risk, Shiraz, Nick Finlay, Ian C SWW)
Not dated	Leftover materials collected for Carpenters exhibition
Not dated	Flyer and feedback forms from Carpenters Community Plan Exhibition
Not dated	Annotated copy of Carpenters Business Directory (updated March 2013; used to prep for 2nd July meeting)
Not dated	Carpenters Community Plan questionnaires collected from businesses
Not dated	Note of discussion with SH re: my proposal for further collaborative research
Not dated	Note of phone calls with businesses re: model response to LLDC local plan consultation
Not dated	Neighbourhood Forum Membership Form
Not dated	Business Group Membership Form
Not dated	JS and LTF briefing on neighbourhood forum (from going round to talk to biz about neighbourhood forum)
Not dated	Notes from early student meeting re: Carpenters
Not dated	Early CARP! Flyer
Not dated	Notes of mtg with Ben Campkin re: UCL Stratford
Not dated	Note of discussion with RL re: my proposal for further collaborative work with Carpenters/Newham Network

**iii. List of contents: A3 (WCC and OTLE)**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>
05/07/12	Response from Haringey planning to the community plan
24/09/12	DM on radio for OT, talking about community benefit from regen in Tottenham.
28/01/13	WCC mtg notes
04/02/13	Grainger application for hoarding
05/02/13	WCC press statement on opening of Sainsbury's:
06/02/13	Email from SP to WCC list re: temporary market
21/02/13	WCC objection to Grainger hoarding planning application.
04/03/13	WCC mtg notes
13/03/13	JS email re: OT meeting and small business workshop
14/03/13	OT mtg re: prep for OT conference
21/03/13	WCC mtg notes
21/03/13	Harringay Online post advertising OT conference
22/03/13	PI blog post re Grainger hoarding application.
27/03/13	OT mtg notes
01/04/13	OT mtg notes
03/04/13	email chain with Moaz re OT conference, small business workshop
04/04/13	WCC bulletin
06/04/13	OT conference, inc notes on supporting small businesses workshop.
08/04/13	WCC mtg notes
10/04/13	OT mtg notes
15/04/13	WCC mtg notes
16/04/13	OT mtg notes
18/04/13	WCC mtg notes
22/04/13	WCC mtg notes
23/04/13	Email to WCC re: legal case hearing
23/04/13	WCC jumble sale flyer
25/04/13	WCC email announcement of appeal rejection
28/04/13	Email re: WCC appeal options and costs
28/04/13	OT charter launch email
29/04/13	WCC mtg notes
30/04/14	Email to WCC discussion list re: decision to appeal legal case
03/05/13	List of traders from visit to market with JJ
04/05/13	Notes from visit to market with JJ
06/05/13	Letter from Quarterbridge to market traders inviting them to a meeting 13 <sup>th</sup> May
09/05/13	Email to WCC members re: OT issues
09/05/13	Summary of OT charter
23/05/13	Email re OT action groups (inc re: small businesses)
06/06/13	Email from Urban Tattoo to OT email list re: High Road West plans
10/06/13	Email re: finalizing community plan
14/06/13	Email re: fundraising
17/06/13	OT meeting notes
20/06/13	Sue P email re: market traders
20/06/13	Creative Citizens project email
20/06/13	OT mtg notes
20/06/13	Email re: application to appeal (WCC legal case)

08/07/13	WCC mtg notes
11/07/13	write up of HSG FOI re Tottenham Major Landowners and Businesses group
15/07/13	WCC mtg notes
16/07/13	media statement on OT delegation to Haringey Cabinet
22/07/13	WCC mtg notes
23/07/13	Email chain re: community plan
04/08/13	Email re: hearing date for WCC appeal 28 <sup>th</sup> Aug.
07/08/13	OT mtg notes
12/08/13	WCC mtg notes
16/08/13	Email re: trader collection boxes (WCC)
21/08/13	OT mtg notes
23/08/13	WCC community plan with comments
14/08/13	Document on relevant London Plan policies I produced for WCC community plan
24/08/13	WCC mtg notes re: community plan
27/08/13	Email re:WCC community plan
27/08/13	Email re: WCC legal appeal hearing on 28 <sup>th</sup>
28/08/13	WCC legal hearing notes
28/08/13	Email from WCC re: failed legal appeal
29/08/13	Email from Haringey Council leader re: WCC failed legal appeal
02/09/13	WCC mtg notes inc re: asset of community value (ACV)
06/09/13	Notes from legal meeting re: WCC appeal
09/09/13	WCC mtg notes
11/09/13	email re: ACV application and potential usefulness for Wards Corner.
18/09/13	Email from OT re: community planning conference
30/09/13	WCC mtg notes inc re: Creative Citizens
04/10/13	Info re: OT mtg with Dave Conn, Guardian journalist, re: HRW
10/10/13	Email arrangement between JJ and I to visit the market to empty collection boxes.
11/10/13	Report of OT representation at London Assembly Planning Committee hearing on neighbourhood planning .
21/10/13	email from PI re Tottenham's Future consultation
21/10/13	OT mtg notes
22/10/13	OT counter to Tottenham's Future consultation
30/10/13	Locality Right to Bid webinar re: Wards Corner.
12/11/13	Guardian letter from OT following big report on Spurs.
21/11/13	OT mtg notes
22/11/13	OT reply to Tottenham Futures attaching the charter
23/11/13	publicity for WCC Winter Warmer, fundraiser for legal challenge.
25/11/13	WCC email re: meeting with Soundings
27/11/13	OT msg of support to CONEL cleaners and publicizing their rally 27 <sup>th</sup> Nov.
28/11/13	OT statement on HRW sham consultation
28/11/13	call from PP for people to come to TBG deputation to Cabinet 28 <sup>th</sup> Nov
29/11/13	I circulate info about LTF conference to OT on Sharon's request; DM replies and says he and Michelle are attending
29/11/13	OT statement re Tottenham's Future consultation
04/12/13	draft proposal for OT re collaboration over small business group.
05/12/13	notes of phonecall with JS re: OT research collaboration.

05/12/13	Email to WCC re: collaboration with OTLE group
05/12/13	report from HRW traders circulated by OT
09/12/13	email to DM re: OT local economy
10/12/13	FoQM ACV application that I had got from them for preparing the WCC one.
10/12/13	OT mtg. papers include reports on HRW traders petition; HSG work on the businesses and landowners group.
10/12/13	WCC mtg notes
11/12/13	Notes from Tottenham Futures event
16/12/13	draft WCC ACV form.
16/12/13	WCC mtg notes and emails re: Tottenham Futures mtg
16/12/13	email from me to people from first OT conference re setting up OTLE group.
17/12/13	draft WCC email re: delayed validation of community plan.
19/12/13	email from AG with ideas for OTLE group: creative hubs and trader survey.
01/01/14	OT announcement of community planning conference 1 <sup>st</sup> Feb
04/01/14	OT mtg notes
06/01/14	offer from Michelle to help with contacting local businesses for local economy group. She is trying to get in touch with Lia.
06/01/14	ad for Tottenham Green local business event.
06/01/14	list of potential contacts for OTLE
06/01/14	MT document on PhD research for OTLE.
06/01/14	WCC email re: delay from council in validating community plan
07/01/14	email exchange with Chantelle re: delay in validation.
07/01/14	sending my PhD note to DM ahead of OT meeting
07/01/14	email chain with Rachel from Crop Drop re OTLE,
08/01/14	email chain ahead of 1 <sup>st</sup> OTLE meeting inc agenda and people interested
08/01/14	WCC mtg notes
08/01/14	Friends of Tottenham Green meeting re: local businesses mtg notes.
08/01/14	OT mtg notes
09/01/14	Notes of phone call with DM re: OTLE group
09/01/14	Notes and prep for first OTLE meeting
10/01/14	BiTC document
10/01/14	Email re: helping with Sticky World trader/business engagement
10/01/14	OT mtg notes, inc prep for first conference
12/01/14	Martin Ball's FOI re: breakdown of £1billion investment in Tottenham
13/01/14	OTLE email with TP after 1 <sup>st</sup> OTLE mtg
13/01/14	notes of Tottenham's Future CLG meetings
17/01/14	OT mtg notes
20/01/14	Email re: helping with Sticky World trader/business engagement
20/01/14	Chat with Dave Wills BiTC for OT local economy
20/01/14	WCC mtg notes
21/01/14	email to Duvar re: WCC fundraiser and OTLE working group.
21/01/14	email to Raul following phonecall re: OTLE working group.
21/01/14	OTLE mtg notes etc
22/01/14	Email re: helping with Sticky World trader/business engagement
22/01/14	OT mtg notes inc re: OT AAP response
24/01/14	Email re WCC community plan and EqIA request
25/01/14	OTLE mtg notes

27/01/14	Email re: OT conf catering costs
27/01/14	WCC email re: community plan and EqIA request
27/01/14	PP article in the Tottenham Journal re: Haringey Council's dismissal of the petition re: HRW scheme
27/01/14	WCC mtg notes
29/01/14	OT mtg notes re: OT conf
31/01/14	OTLE email chain re: summary document
31/01/14	OT conf press release.
01/02/14	planning policy summary doc produced by CC and me for OT conf.
01/02/14	OT conf notes, inc workshop and plenary session notes
01/02/14	new version of OTLE summary document
03/02/14	WCC email chain re: validation of community plan
03/02/14	Email exchange with Jane Clossick (London Met PhD student)
03/02/14	OT conference press release
03/02/14	Tottenham's Future CLG meeting invite
04/02/14	Email chain re: WCC asset of community value application
04/02/14	OT mtg notes
04/02/14	Email re: helping with Sticky World trader/business engagement
05/02/14	Email to DM re: OT conf meeting notes
05/02/14	email to OT network re Transforming Tottenham breakfast mtg 28 <sup>th</sup> Feb.
05/02/14	invite from Moaz to speak re: OTLE group at TTP meeting 5 <sup>th</sup> Feb
05/02/14	Notes from TTP and OT meetings
06/02/14	Emails and draft ACV app for WCC (several subsequent drafts also 16/02/14, 03/03/14 and 04/03/14).
06/02/14	Draft WCC Tottenham's Future consultation response
06/02/14	Email re: Tottenham AAP consultation
07/02/14	Email re: upcoming OTLE meeting
07/02/14	OT meeting notes, inc reflections on OT conference
07/02/14	WCC email exchange re: fixing a meeting with Haringey Council
08/02/14	OTLE mtg notes
10/02/14	Email connecting HRW traders with WCC lawyers
10/02/14	WCC mtg notes inc Tottenham Futures, Sticky World and community plan
11/02/14	OTLE member connects HRW traders with a journalist friend
12/02/14	OT mtg notes inc discussion of OTLE
12/02/14	Mtg notes re: meeting with Anil, Jane and Svet re: idea for Tottenham local economy survey
13/02/14	Email chain re: WCC mtg with Haringey Council re: community plan and EqIA
14/02/14	OTLE member contacts MakeRoom
16/02/14	WCC feedback to Haringey Council re: note of mtf on Tottenhams Future
18/02/14	WCC emails re WCC mtg with Haringey Council re: community plan and EqIA
19/02/14	email chain with BiTC coordinator re: OTLE
19/02/14	OT mtg notes
24/02/14	Email and survey prompts re: Sticky World biz engagement
24/02/14	WCC mtg notes re: decision re: community plan, Sticky World, fundraising.
27/02/14	WCC EqIA requested by Council.

28/02/14	Transforming Tottenham breakfast event notes
28/02/14	Note of chat with Jane Clossick re: Tottenham research website
03/03/14	Notes of mtg with Anil re: Tottenham local economy survey; draft local economy survey
03/03/14	WCC mtg notes inc re: Sticky World launch and Tottenham AAP consultation
04/03/14	WCC ACV application – signed and sent
04/03/14	WCC response to Tottenham AAP consultation
04/03/14	JC input to OTLE survey
05/03/14	email re: Stickyworld launch on 27 <sup>th</sup> March
06/03/14	OT mtg notes
06/03/14	WCC input into OT AAP response
07/03/14	announcement of next OTLE mtg
07/03/14	email chain with JC and AK re local economy survey.
08/03/14	TTP circulate info about OTLE meeting on 8 <sup>th</sup> Feb
08/03/14	OTLE notes
12/03/14	material prepared for WCC trader engagement (and 16/03/14 and 19/03/14)
15/03/14	WCC stickyworld launch info circulated by OT
16/03/14	email chain with Fiona Scott re Tottenham mappings etc.
16/03/14	summary of WCC trader engagement so far
17/03/14	email chain with WCC and JC re: signing up to come along for the trader engagement.
17/03/14	HRW traders response to the AAPs.
18/03/14	email with PP re: OTLE.
19/03/14	various materials produced for trader engagement.
20/03/14	Email to WCC re: update on trader engagement.
23/03/14	OTLE mtg notes
24/03/14	Invite to TTP mtg
24/03/14	Sticky World launch preparation, invite and consultation response info
25/03/14	Community plan decision making process - WCC email chain
25/03/14	Email re: next OTLE mtg
25/03/14	planning and running order for WCC Sticky World launch
26/03/14	Email re: OTLE meeting joining with TTP meeting
26/03/14	TTP mtg papers
27/03/14	Emails with Raul re: community plan comments
27/03/14	my response to WCC community plan consultation
02/04/14	JJ previous survey of Wards Corner site
07/04/14	Response to Tottenham AAP from Martin Bates, Peacock Estate, re HRW plans
07/04/14	response from TBG to Tottenham AAP consultation
07/04/14	officers report of WCC community plan.
07/04/14	WCC mtg notes
09/04/14	OTLE and WCC responses to FALP
11/04/14	email chain with Raul following up on various things after interview
15/04/14	OT circulate info re: TTP Easter Street Party 21 <sup>st</sup> April
22/04/14	Further email with Raul re: OTLE and WCC
24/04/14	Email with Haringey Council re: community plan consultation responses and decision
24/04/14	OT mtg notes, inc discussion of OTLE
25/04/14	WCC community plan decision notice.



26/04/14	Email with Haringey Council re: WCC ACV decision delay
27/04/14	Raul invite to OTLE to speak at NE FSB event
30/04/14	Announcement that WCC community plan granted planning permission.
02/05/14	Decision notice from Haringey Council re: ACV application.
10/05/14	Email with Raul re: dates for FSB mtg re: WCC and OTLE
11/05/14	list of Tottenham regen policies useful re: community empowerment and involvement for OT meeting with Malcolm Smith
12/05/14	email chain with Chris Lane. He asking me to circulate info to OTLE re: their share issue to raise funds to buy the Antwerp Arms
12/05/14	WCC mtg notes
12/05/14	Prep and notes from OT mtg with Malcolm Smith
15/05/14	Following up on mtg with Malcolm Smith
15/05/14	OT mtg notes
20/05/14	OTLE mtg notes
25/05/14	Flyer for WCC celebration at Seven Sisters market
27/05/14	WCC mtg notes
28/05/14	OTLE. Email exchange between PP and MP re: FOI re: Spurs s106.
30/05/14	WCC email chain re: meetings
30/05/14	Notes of mtg with JC re: OTLE
01/06/14	OTLE email from DM I think with TU contacts.
02/06/14	WCC mtg notes
04/06/14	Email re: OTLE mtg re: social enterprise at 639 Enterprise Centre
09/06/14	WCC mtg notes
10/06/14	OTLE email from Sona at Selby Trust re: social enterprise meeting
13/06/14	Raul email re: raising community plan with Mayor at event celebrating Latin American contribution to London.
16/06/14	email chain with Raul and Moaz re: FSB mtg re: WCC
16/06/14	WCC mtg notes
17/06/14	OTLE mtg notes
19/06/14	Email chain re: FOI for Heygate and HRW
23/06/14	research brief from JC for Seven Sisters market research
30/06/14	WCC workshop with Creative Citizens
30/06/14	WCC mtg notes
01/07/14	TBG email update on campaign
04/07/14	OT mtg notes
09/07/14	email from Raul re: Latin American event and Deputy Mayor
09/07/14	LA regen committee email to OT re: input to stadium-led regen enquiry
15/07/14	WCC email chain re: Cabinet paper on SS regen, inc Apex House and poss relocation of SS market.
15/07/14	Cabinet paper on strategic regen delivery report.
17/07/14	OT mtg notes
18/07/14	OT email re: Tottenham's Future question time
18/07/14	notes of mtg with YF, PU and SH re: funding and support for WCC
21/07/14	Comments on WCC letter to key contacts seeking meetings re delivering the community plan.
22/07/14	OTLE response to LA regen committee
22/07/14	email to WCC re: working meetings over the summer
04/08/14	WCC mtg notes
10/08/14	TTP affiliate to OT
11/08/14	WCC mtg notes

13/08/14	OT mtg re: FALP
14/08/14	WCC decide to put CC funds towards community engagement event on 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct as part of OT CEW
15/08/14	OTLE and TBG email chain re: idea for a street rally in support of HRW traders as part of OT CEW
17/08/14	FOI re major landowners and business group OT email chain
18/08/14	WCC mtg notes
18/08/14	WCC mtg notes
19/08/14	OTLE mtg notes
20/08/13	WCC mtg notes re: FALP
22/08/14	OT email re CEW.
26/08/14	WCC mtg notes
01/09/14	WCC Creative Citizens outputs
01/09/14	WCC mtgs notes
01/09/14	Email with CC re: OT representation at FALP EiP
03/09/14	briefing for PP for OT rep at EiP on Session 6 (Employment) for the FALP and briefing for WCC for Session 7 (retail and town centres)
05/09/14	Draft WCC roadmap after summer workshops
08/09/14	WCC mtg notes
15/09/14	task list for WCC 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct event.
09/09/14	OT briefing for FALP on employment and retail & town centres.
11/09/14	SP comments for FALP retail & town centres.
15/09/14	WCC mtg notes
17/09/14	email re WCC 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct event
17/09/14	email with JS re: stickyworld team stuff for 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct and remaining funding.
19/09/14	Notes from discussion of Locality funding bid for WCC
22/09/14	Detailed task list for WCC 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct event. And mtg notes.
22/09/14	Notes from convo with Vicky re: 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct event at Wards Corner
24/09/14	OT mtg notes
26/09/14	email to Vicky re: 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct event
26/09/14	Locality small grant proposal draft to pay for community development worker to support Trust and WCC
26/09/14	reply from TfL requesting more info from WCC re: delivering the community plan
29/09/14	WCC mtg notes
04/10/14	WCC flyer for 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct event
05/10/14	email re OTLE meeting to discuss changes to charter. Also chance to review group so far
07/10/14	OTLE mtg notes
09/10/14	new OTLE charter action points.
11/10/14	Notes of OT conf inc local economy workshop
13/10/14	Email to WCC re 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct event, funding application, mtg with Trust, plus notes
13/10/14	Notes of discussion with Vicky
14/10/14	WCC decision re: transfer of funds to the Trust
20/10/14	Notes of WCC mtf
22/10/14	Draft funding application for the Trust
27/10/14	Response from Mayor's office to WCC re: delivering community plan
28/10/14	Meeting of WCC and the Development Trust re: funding application

#### iv. Example document (A2 08/05/13)

Gmail - Update on businesses for Community Plan

<https://mail.google.com/mail/u/1/?ui=2&ik=f82aed369a&vi...>



08/05/13

Myfanwy Taylor

### Update on businesses for Community Plan

Myfanwy Taylor

To: Sharon Hayward

Wed, May 8, 2013 at 4:25 PM

Hi Sharon - I called the businesses that have been most actively involved in Community Plan so far this pm. So, the full list of confirmed 'signatories'/sponsors' is now:

- PA Finlay (Nick)
- Carpenters and Docklands Centre (Ben)
- BMA Ltd (Nick)
- Universal Automobile Engineers (Jack)
- Doran Walk newsagent (Mr Patel)
- Stratford Wire Works (Ian)
- Unitas Communications (Shiraz)
- Carpenters Arms (Seamus) - this is from your discussions with him, I havent spoken to him.

Still thinking it over are:

- ACME Studios (Aranxa and Calum)
- IB Medical (Burhan)
- Unitas Risk (Burhan)

I will let you know if they say yes/no as soon as I hear.

Just confirming that my next steps are:

- produce the text on local economy for the board/leaflet (could you let me know how many words when you have done the layout with Pushpa?)
- collect material for the boards from biz (I will do this Monday 13th pm)
- confirm a date with the businesses for a meeting at the exhibition (I think 5pm one day would be good, Tues or Thurs would be best for me, if this was ok? It'd be great to have you/Richard and a few people from CARP around too maybe)

Do let me know if there's anything else.

A mixed reaction from business about yesterday's news - some see it as good, others as bad (more uncertainty, more delay...). All still happy to be involved in the Community Plan, and up to date about our plans for this.

Best wishes,

Myfanwy

[Quoted text hidden]

## D. Research diary

### *i. List of entries*

20/03/13	03/09/13	12/12/13	07/04/14	05/08/14
21/03/13	05/09/13	16/12/13	08/04/14	06/08/14
24/03/13	06/09/13	17/12/13	09/04/14	09/08/14
25/03/13	09/09/13	19/12/13	10/04/14	13/08/14
27/03/13	11/09/13	16/01/14	24/04/14	14/08/14
30/03/13	12/09/13	17/01/14	25/04/14	18/08/14
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17/04/13	24/09/13	27/01/14	12/05/14	26/08/14
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05/05/13	01/10/13	10/02/14	27/05/14	08/09/14
09/05/13	03/10/13	12/02/14	28/05/14	09/09/14
21/05/13	04/10/13	13/02/14	29/05/14	10/09/14
24/05/13	08/10/13	21/02/14	30/05/14	11/09/14
25/05/13	10/10/13	26/02/14	10/06/14	12/09/14
28/05/13	11/10/13	28/02/14	11/06/14	15/09/14
21/06/13	15/10/13	04/03/14	12/06/14	19/09/14
02/07/13	21/10/13	05/03/14	16/06/14	24/09/14
03/07/13	22/10/13	06/03/14	17/06/14	26/09/14
08/07/13	23/10/13	13/03/14	18/06/14	29/09/14
09/07/13	05/11/13	15/03/14	19/06/14	07/10/14
10/07/13	26/11/13	17/03/14	20/06/14	11/10/14
12/08/13	28/11/13	18/03/14	07/07/14	13/10/14
21/08/13	04/12/13	19/03/14	14/07/14	29/10/14
24/08/13	05/12/13	21/03/14	16/07/14	
28/08/13	06/12/13	24/03/14	17/07/14	
29/08/13	10/12/13	26/03/14	18/07/14	
02/09/13	11/12/13	27/03/14	04/08/14	

## ***ii. Example entry***

**Saturday 15 March 2014**

5.30 on tube Euston → home

Today was the JS FALP conference at the Directory of Social Change. I hadn't really been involved in the planning at all but had been asked to chair last session and facilitate the economy workshop. I got up early to prepare esp to write a short intro to the economy changes.

Plenary session very informative and engaging. Economy workshop very good and much better than previous I had been to.

- much more focussed on planning
- more diverse groups

Lunchtime – I spoke with Shirley, Sue, Mara and George. A good chance to connect and catch up. There were also 2 tea and coffee breaks which ppl made use of for networking. 45 mins for the final plenary.

- report backs
- general discussion
- key pts
- announcements/process

Used the microphone. Think went well.

Some went to the pub, most went home after another half an hour of milling around at the workshop.

I feel I should have more to say but really just feel pleased and confident – the level of knowledge and analysis was inspiring. It feels like a common endeavour not a problem of any one person or a burden. The JS collective process is very effective. I feel its not all on my shoulders – far from it - we can all contribute diff things thro a common process.

JR facilitated MDC workshop. BL present too.

Lots of UCL Masters students helping out – note taking etc.

A few present from Tott – Sue, Shirley, Sona

A few present from Newham – Victor, Shiraz

So some pts of cxn w. my other projects

It feels good to know ppl and to feel connected. Rather than isolated and burdened.

Spoke with Mara about research methods and we contemplated writing something together – her experiences of SNAG, mine with my PhD. And we discussed the need for change. Also good to have allies.

Turnpike Lane now. Time to get off and rest!

More work to do tomorrow.

## **E. Meetings recorded and transcribed**

### ***i. List of JSEP meetings***

TR JSEP 09/07/13	9 July 2013 (University College London)
TR JSEP 25/09/13	25 September 2013 (Brook Lyndhurst)
TR JSEP 22/10/13	22 October 2013 (University College London)
TR JSEP 05/12/13	5 December 2013 (Royal Festival Hall)
TR JSEP 27/01/14	27 January 2014 (Bootstrap Co.)
TR JSEP 20/05/14	20 March 2014 (University College London)
TR JSEP 20/06/14	20 June 2014 (London School of Economics)
TR JSEP 14/07/14	14 July 2014 (Bromley by Bow Centre)
TR JSEP 06/08/14	6 August 2014 (University College London)
TR JSEP 05/09/14	5 September 2014 (University College London)
TR JSEP 13/10/14	13 October 2014 (University College London)

### ***ii. List of Newham Network meetings***

TR NN 29/09/14	29 September 2014 (Bromley by Bow Centre)
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Several other meetings took place but were not recorded or transcribed. Notes were taken and documents collected in A2.

### ***iii. List of OTLE meetings***

TR OTLE 07/10/14	7 October 2014 (Garden House restaurant)
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Several other meetings took place but were not recorded or transcribed. Notes were taken and documents collected in A3.

#### ***iv. Extract from transcript***

##### **Just Space Economy and Planning meeting, 5 September 2014**

Preparation for the FALP EiP (Extract)

Myfanwy Taylor (MT): In terms of what time things are and whose speaking when and where, and also people who've got experience of doing this kind of thing might like to share some of that experience. Um. Just to bring you guys up to speed with like where we are, why we're doing this, so you can understand where your experience with the pub fits in, but then we've got you know the specific questions of the Inspector which we can go through. So we can take those in whatever order we want. Some people here are going to be using the Just Space Economy and Planning seat to give their evidence to the planning inspector. Other people have got their own seat in their own right so they can speak on all the questions. So but really the aim is to collectively sort of share our knowledge and help each other prepare for that. So um you might, you know, if you're able to stay and listen to others that would be helpful as well for situating your bit, if you know what I mean. So I mean I was going to propose we start with practicalities quickly if that makes sense? Um... So I mean do people feel like they know when they need to be and when?

Jessica Ferm (JF): Yes.

MT: Yes?

Eileen Conn (EC): I'm not...? Intervene?

MT: Where they need to be and when.

EC: Oh right.

Grove Park 2 (GP2): What you said in the email, I mean I cant recall it off the top of my head but you have sent it to us.



MT: Yes that's it. So the main thing is that the session starts at 9.30 in the morning and they don't schedule individual questions so if you, your question is the last, for instance, so if you wanted to arrive a bit later, you could say, you know, and then I can text you if its, you know, moving faster or slower than anticipated. Would you intend to arrive at the beginning or would you...?

GP2: Does it last all day?

MT: All morning. The 11<sup>th</sup> one just lasts the morning.

GP2: Um I would like if possible, my diary for instance, to just come as early as possible to see what's happening.

MT: Great. Yes. That's great.

GP2: And suss it out and know how to, you know, see how the Inspector is and try and gauge how they're like.

Michael Edwards (ME): I strongly recommend that.

EC: I went last Wednesday to do just that.

ME: Partly so you can get the feeling, how it goes, but partly because you can then avoid repeating things that other people have said, you can challenge what they said, but you can avoid the awful situation where you start making a speech and the Inspector shouts out and says, I'm sorry, we've heard all that this morning.

GP2: Yes.

ME: And its quite embarrassing.

MT: OK. So that's great. And the other thing is there's security gates, so just leave a bit of time to get through there. The other thing is, I've been told, I've

not done it myself, but you need to put your name plate on the end if you want to speak, is that right?

EC: Yes, well I think Richard was saying something about that and I didn't understand it.

ME: Shall I explain? I mean they prepare in advance one of those triangle plates that sits on the table in front of each person. So it says Just Space – Richard Lee. And on a particular question, when a question comes up, um, if you want to speak, you stand this triangle up on end and that's the signal that you've got something to say. Don't try and catch his eye or shout, he'll come to you, and he's been very thorough on that, he does come to you.

EC: Could I ask, because I missed it at the very beginning, what happens at the very beginning? Presumably everybody goes round and says something about them do they? Or no, you weren't there so...

ME: Yes, this time, from when I was there on Wednesday, yes. It went quickly round and people said...

EC: Yes. And then did he launch straight in to the very first question and say this is my first question, who wants to speak on that?

ME: Yes the question is this, he says what it is, and he I think he always gives the Mayor of London's planning team a chance to make an initial speech about it.

EC: Statement, ok.

ME: That's right, isn't it, Richard?

Richard Lee (RL): Yes, that's what he's been doing.

EC: And then who spoke next? And what's the procedure for people...?

ME: He starts to call...

EC: And at that point, at that point, you need to make sure you put your thing up.

ME: Yes. We explained that. Yes, that's right.

EC: And when you speak first and you've not spoken before, do you, because you've already gone round and said who you are, in front of this guy, so you don't need to say that again.

ME: Well. What they like best, and I would say we like best as well, because we often listen to these things afterwards on the tape recorder, is if people say this whenever they speak.

EC: And their organisation.

ME: I'm Eileen Conn, Peckham Vision, and that gets sort of time stamped in to the record.

EC: And for people who are not of the stereotype, in the stereotype role of like an academic or a developer or whatever, people like us who are not obvious who we are or how we explain it, how much are we allowed to say and how much is it relevant? I mean, Richard for example, although he in some respects is similar to me, you say you're the coordinator of Just Space and immediately everybody knows what that means. I suppose I could say coordinator of Peckham Vision but it doesn't really get across why I'm saying what I'm saying.

RL: I think its taken as read that you've got something to say if you're there. I don't think its necessary to worry about it.

EC: I'm not worrying about it. I'm just trying to get my head about what I prepare myself to say.

RL: I mean its nice to er just give er a sentence encapsulating Peckham Vision. One sentence. I think that's quite good. Because as Michael said, for the recording, well, like for posterity, its very nice.

EC: But its more than that because I've actually got so many things to say which are beyond my capacity as coordinator of Peckham Vision, that's the point, which really is critical to some of the answers I've got to.... And that's my interest.

ME: I think its perfectly possible to say you're the coordinator of Peckham Vision and you've lived in that part of London for a very long time. And what you want to say draws partly on your Peckham Vision experience and partly on your own, something like that.

EC: OK, ok. And that's the point at which to say it, right at the very beginning? That's the point at which to say it, right at the very beginning, rather than when you're trying to say...

ME: Probably.

EC: I just need to get all of that absolutely clear so.

Michael Ball (MB): Once you're round the table, you have the right to say anything. As long as its reasonable and to do with planning. There's no question of, actually, you didn't put your submission about that. No. Once you're at the point of the process when they invite you because you've displayed in what you've written that you've got a question, knowledge and concern that supposedly he wants to hear from. You're totally in your right... So things come up which never occurred to me, but I'm listening to other people and I'm hearing things that they're saying and I'm thinking oh no, I don't agree with that. It could be based on a piece of logic that's got nothing to do with my background but...

EC: OK. I've just thought of a way to get these other things in without having to say any more about it. OK. That's fine. Forget about it.

MT: Did you introduce yourself?

MB: I'm Michael Ball from Waterloo Community Development Group.

MT: Great. OK. So we were just talking about practicalities like, for people who've not done it before, where to be and how to speak, how the process goes, etc. Um. Did anyone have any other questions on practicalities?

MB: I wanted just to speak on that, having gone through it last week. And the normal advice I'd give to people is slightly different because normally I'd say, be very reasonable, be very relaxed, they'll give you time, they'll give you space, they're supposed to deal with the fact that you are not a professional, you're from the community or you're from some other, you're not a planner or a barrister or whatever. But in this circumstance, I've never experienced an Inspector like this. He is rude, aggressive and totally, treats everybody the same, whether you're a barrister or a professor or, you know, a developer or a person of the community, you're treated the same. So what's the way to get through that? What I realised is usually my technique is to be, to give some, so Inspectors always try to hurry you, maybe, if they think they've heard your point, and you don't need to embellish it anymore and they've read the point you've made anyway and they don't want to hear it. And they'll find ways of saying, ok, you know, I've heard enough from you, you need to stop. This guy is rude and doesn't um er explain that necessarily and he certainly doesn't necessarily want to hear what you've got to say. So what I realise is in giving any space to him is to say, ok, well I won't talk about that anymore, I'll talk about this then, just makes him worse. The way to deal with him is to go aggressive back at him and there's one guy from Haringey who did this and got, probably spoke more than any of us.

EC: That was Mario or Patrio or?

MB: Yes. True.

EC: I was so impressed with him.

MB: Yes and you know from my perspective from listening to him, he was off the point, he he... the Inspector was legitimately saying, ok I've heard enough, stop. But he wasn't going to be stopped and the Inspector backed off from being so aggressive from him. I think the Inspector's a classic bully and the only way to stop a bully is to stand up to him. And when you stand up to him, he sort of backs off, he's frightened. He's a bully because he's frightened. So if you just say, no, I have got this important thing to say, and I'm going to say it, and this has to be said, or I think that's the way to catch it. I mean you don't need to catch him with the phrase I've just put, you can make it clear...

RL: But Michael, look at everyone's faces as you're telling them this.

[laughs]

RL: Noone's going to go now. Noone's going to go. [laughs].

MB: No no no no no. Its just like being at the bar with somebody whose just a bit bloody pushy.

Stephen Kenny (SK): Is this the same Inspector?

MB: Sorry?

SK: Is this the same one that...?

EC: Oh yes, he's doing the whole three weeks.

SK: OK.

EC: I've got a different take on it which will be as innocuous as that.

Patria Roman-Velazquez (PRV): Oh yes we need a different take on it.

EC: Because I was watching, right, I wasn't at the table, I thought you handled him very well, actually, I thought that you kept to your guns and Richard was

pointing out how much he was writing down as you were speaking and I thought, very good mark. But really for me, the thing was, what he wants more than anything is to know what you're saying answers his question. That's all he's got to do. He's got to write this ghastly report which he's got to get his head around, you know, what's the material really saying to you, and he's got any combination of this question, that I have when I read all the submissions in the first place. So that to me is a more practical thing, I mean I don't disagree with what you're saying but um that's the thing I'm really focussing on at the moment, how can I twist the things that I want to say, I'm getting clear about what I want to say, how can I relate it to this question that he's asked.

MB: Absolutely. You're absolutely right. That is essential and you need to have a sort of skeleton to your argument. If you're trying to make this point, but the question is this, you need to get clear how you're looking at it, to be able to say that in one sentence when he presses you, saying what you're saying is irrelevant. Yes it is because its x. Absolutely. And that's more sort of standard, it is normal that there is that, and you need to focus it around that, you've got to get your argument in there and he's, while he always hands people off as if he perceives they're just trying to get in a different point under this question, the point yesterday about tall buildings, which I think was entirely legitimate but he was questioning well, how is this relevant to this question.

EC: You've been there more than one day?

MB: Sorry?

EC: Have you been there more than one day?

MB: Yes.

EC: OK. Because I've only got a few hours on Wednesday. So having been those number of times, have you got any feel for what he feels or thinks about the sector which we represent which is basically small people in London that don't really have a voice in this big, what... does he care? Does he show any

sign of it actually being quite an important thing that's being drawn to his attention?

ME: Its hard to answer that. I mean I haven't tried to work it out.

EC: You can't tell? He doesn't give anything away.

MB: I don't think its what he's... His focus is, he's got a plan, er, he's got questions to ask about it, he's asking us to contribute to that stage. Ultimately the relationship is between him and the [GLA] London people and he's asking us to contribute to that conversation and um he doesn't care really where our background is or what we're focus is, if its trivialing concerns or pertenance to him, he's picking that up. And so they key is, he's signalling in his questions what it is that he's concerned about that he thinks needs to, the London Plan, the FALP needs to be tested on. And you've got to show how you're bit of evidence or perspective is appropriate to helping him to poke at that question. The other thing that came across very strongly with you, when you spoke yesterday, was focus on evidence is very good, even just using the word evidence is good but really focussing... this is supposed to be an evidence based process, its always worth saying that and reminding them, and Richard was pointing out there was a lack of evidence in the whole area relating to stuff. And he let you talk for quite some time and gave you three bites of the cherry as well because you were making this point, this is about evidence.

RL: But also I've noticed that he does like you to refer to documents that are in the Library and um when you refer to them he makes a note. Almost every time someone was referring to a document that's in the examination library, he's scribbling away.

ME: Or to their own submissions.

RL: Yes. Because then he's reminding himself he needs to check that out and so on. And I mean I've always been advised that if the Inspector's not writing when you speak, he's not really listening, he's not interested. So I, I'm always conscious of the need to be saying something that's going to get him writing.



And you watch, if you're there before your own part, you watch his behaviour in terms of what he's writing and you'll see that for some people he writes nothing at all and you can tell from his body language that they can have their two minutes but... whereas others he does, he is writing away. And we want him to be writing away when we speak, clearly. [laughs]. So we need to think on this.

ME: I would say another thing on that, that it's a bit like students in a lecture room in a way, that my impression is he's more inclined to write notes if you say, there are three points to be made. Number 1 is... Number 2 is... Number 3 is...

RL: True.

ME: He gets it down. Whereas if you make a sort of fluid, continuous speech, he's more likely to ignore it.

RL: The other thing, um, before lots of people had arrived, Eileen was asking about, you've got a specific change you want to make, in writing, you might have referred to it already in your representation. How is it best to raise that? My take is er... if you're very confident and you've got it all worked out beforehand, I would send it in the day before to the Secretary and ask if it can be circulated, or at least, can you please advise the Inspector I'll be raising this word change. I find that's very useful. Um. I mean I don't know if people who were there on the local authorities' day on housing, the Tuesday, the session actually started with one of the developers, do you remember Michael, handing round some altered wording. Firstly asked for permission. They'd brought it along, you know, copies. They asked permission of the Inspector, he said yes that's fine. And they were permitted to hand round their wording. I mean I gained the impression they must have notified in advance, I would have thought, because otherwise we'd all be doing that, wouldn't we? But um, but I find that proposing wording changes, for me I find it very effective. It worked for me yesterday. I had several changes. I hadn't done them in advance. I hadn't put them in a rep. Because I'd thought about them that morning. But I had my changes ready, and it seemed to work, didn't he?

MB: Yes. And I think that's because at the end of the day, it's a practical process for him. He's trying, there are you know a limited number of changes to this London Plan, he's trying to see whether they work or not and if there's a practical alternative, it's a good way of testing out whether what's proposed works or whether there's some other way of doing it that's better that doesn't have the unintended consequences that we might be raising. So definitely. I mean in an ideal world, you have your evidence, you've put in your own evidence, you've had your changes, and you're all in touch with the question. The reality is you don't have time to get so well prepared successfully in advance.

## F. Interviews with Carpenters businesses

### *i. List of interviews (12 in total)*

Name	Role and Organisation	Date and place of interview
Alexandre Vveme (1) and Nikita Romankin (2)	Director (1) and employee (2), BMA Ltd	26/02/13, BMA Ltd
Ben North	Manager, Carpenters and Docklands Centre	26/02/13, Carpenters and Docklands Centre
Guiseppe	Barber's Shop, Stratford High Street	26/02/13, Barber's Shop
Kevin Leach	Landlord, Builders Arms	26/02/13, Builders Arms
Calum Kerr (3) and Arantxa Echarte (4)	Artist Liaison & Research Officer (3) and Research Consultant and Rowse Close tenant (4), Acme Artists Studios	26/02/13, Acme offices
Ian Crampton	Director, Stratford Wire Works	15/03/13, cafe in Stratford town centre
Irfan Khoda (5) and Burhan Zafar (6)	Director, IB Medical (5) and Director, Unitas Risk (6)	15/03/13, Carpenters and Docklands Centre
Seamus Clarke	Landlord, Carpenters Arms	15/03/13, Carpenters Arms
Anonymous	Doran Walk newsagent	19/03/13, Doran Walk newsagent
Nick Athienitis	Director, P.A. Finlay	19/03/13, P.A. Finlay
Shiraz Ahmad	Chief Operating Officer, Unitas Communications Director, Unitas Risk	19/03/13, Carpenters and Docklands Centre
Andy Whale	UK Operations Manager, moo.com	27/05/14, moo.com

## ***ii. Semi-structured questionnaire***

**Can you tell me a bit about the history of your business in this area?**

No. of years in the area

Why first came here

What it was like then (+ and –)

Relationship with Carpenters Estate then

Local employment then

Local training then

How the area has changed

How have been affected by changes

**Let's talk now about the plans to re-develop the Carpenters Estate. When did you first hear about them?**

When first heard

What do you know about the plans?

What do you think about the plans?

How do you think you will be affected by the plans?

Have you had any contact with the council?

What do you plan to do about this?

Has the Olympics affected you in the past?

Other experiences of change/displacement?

**OK, let's move on to the Community Plan now. As you know, one of its key intentions is to recognise the contribution of the businesses already in the area. In order to do this, it'd be really useful to collect some basic info about your business.**

Key services provided (inc some sense of scale)

Number of jobs (inc local)

Families / people supported through these jobs

Customer base (inc local)

Training schemes? Apprentices?

Hiring policies?

Links with training / education

Floor space and rents

Leaseholder? Freeholder? Terms of lease etc

**It's also really important that the Community Plan recognises the strengths of the area to local businesses, and makes suggestions for how to improve on these, as well as addressing any problems.**

What are the main benefits to you of locating here?

Transport?

Space?

Cost of land?

Access to labour?

Links with other businesses?

Specific local amenities? E.g. parking

Convenience in terms of rest of life – where you live, arrangements you make

...

Relationship with the Carpenters Estate

What doesn't work?

Uncertainty?

Disruption?

Degradation / abandonment?

Attractiveness of the area?

**Let's think now about how the strengths of the area might be improved further, and the problems addressed, so that your business and others might be strengthened further. It would be good to have your perspective on this to inform the Community Plan.**

Immediate local environment

Street scaping etc

Transport

Space / rents

Relationships with other local biz / edu / training

Support needs

Relationship with the rest of Stratford

Missing local amenities

What would really improve the area for you?

Things which have happened elsewhere?

**Good to get your views on some of the ideas developed so far. Work in progress.**

Bringing back the local population - demand

Jobs Growth – but how???

Local employment policies; London Living Wage

Links with local edu and training colleges e.g. joined up work placement scheme

Library/ community/ enterprise hub

Pop-ups / temporary uses

How to finance improvements?? Viability??

**End:**

Any questions?

Anything you didn't get to say?

Next steps: meeting Mon 25 March

My contact details

### ***iii. Example transcript extract (IB Medical)***

Myfanwy Taylor (MT): so you were saying that Burhan [Zafar] had already started a business here.

Irfan Khoda (IK): yes, he was already working on a business which was going okay, and then I was involved in a couple of other businesses and then I came up with the idea of this particular business. So he was, like, look, "the office rent here is really good for a start-up". So he suggested it because he was already here and then I said, "okay perfect let's try it out", because we not going to lose an awful lot if it doesn't work out. And then, touchwood, low and behold it all worked out, and here we are today.

MT: and is he still running the other business as well?

IK: he's still running the other business, which is...Shiraz [Ahmad], Unitas and what have you, so he's doing okay there as well.

MT: so that's the Unitas Communications?

IK: Unitas Risk is what he's running.

MT: okay. And you've got a number of other businesses as well?

IK: yes.

MT: Which... any of them you run out of here, or you run out of other places?

IK: I, well, one, which I'm just a silent partner in, which is run from Barking. Again, a low rent. But it doesn't affect this area.

MT: so how I mean... Well perhaps I can talk with Burhan another time but, how did he... What do you understand about how he came to find out about this place?

IK: I think he and his... he and another guy, who was actually running a car sales business from the back, they both started a small business here, which was dealing... Which was trading in adverts for cars um... which then evolved into a purely car sales business. Burhan's background was in err... corporate studies and corporate investigations and he started that particular company through Unitas, I'd say in January-ish. So that particular company was running okay and then we came about IB Medical in about I'd say June and we since then we've been running that from here.

MT: and how has... I mean in terms of the way that sort of spin-off has worked, in terms of the physical location? Are there any benefits from being sort of co-located with other businesses here?

IK: it's fantastic because its... The actual transport links into Stratford are absolutely fantastic, I think it takes Burhan all of 15, 20 minutes from home to get into Stratford. It's good for us because sometimes we need to work weekends as well, so not having a huge commute into the office um makes it a lot better, um, a lot easier to manage. For me, um. having it in a central point like Stratford is quite good because from here, if I have a meeting in the city I can just pop in, 10 minutes up the road, and if I have a meeting back in Barking, I can just pop up 10 minutes up the road. So, for us as a business, it's, um, it's very very important to be situated here and um it's been a huge contributing factor to why we have got to the stage we're at today.

MT: and how many... So how many people are working, are employed in the business?

IK: at the moment we have four partners in the business.

MT: and are you all... You said you don't have a long commute, where are you coming from?

IK: I'm coming from... I live in Newbury Park so... But I actually drive in because sometimes I need to be on the road for obvious reasons, meeting clients and what have you.



MT: so the other partners, are they like... local-ish, or where do they live?

IK: one's in Ilford, Burhan's in Wanstead, Snaresbrook. Um and the other partner's in Brighton, but whenever we meet him we meet him in central London.

MT: Yeah, yeah. And in terms of like... You said you're growing very rapidly at the moment, like, can you give me some sense of the scale of your operations?

IK: okay, well we started off with getting four cases a month. Last month we got 25 instructions. This month we're up to the 15th and we're on 23 instructions, so it's... I mean we've used a few advertising tools but to be honest it's err... It's growing rapidly.

[Interview interrupted for phone call]

MT: and in terms of like where your clients are coming from, are they... Are they geographically located around here or all over London?

IK: They're actually, like, all over the UK. We've had, we've actually had instructions from Ireland as well, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales we get a fair few, northern England, I'd say Derbyshire, Cheshire we've had instructions, London we get plenty of instructions. We've got a lot of clients in London, we've got clients in Essex... In terms of instructions, touch wood, we've got quite a broad spectrum of clients that are quite err... sporadic, let's say.

MT: and in terms of then what you do, could you just describe that to me?

IK: yes, I mean what we do is we have a database of medical and forensic consultants. Our main er niche is pharmacology and toxicology, so for argument's sake if someone's caught drink-driving, and their blood alcohol reading is high but their argument or their defence to that is the only reason why my blood alcohol count is X because I had cough syrup, it wouldn't have been so high if I hadn't have had the cough syrup, and I would have been legal to

drive. So then we'd get what's called a toxicologist to read the data provided, including whatever alcohol they'd consumed as well as the content of the cough syrup, and then provide a report, which would then be produced in court, and they may need to go to court, but we provide that expert services as well as the legal services as well as... to private clients. So that's in terms of what we do. And again, in terms of forensic examinations, we have fingerprint experts, we have DNA experts. So we work on quite a broad spectrum of cases.

MT: yes, that's much clearer, thank you. And in terms of, like, where you... How clients come to hear about you, or how you promote yourselves, what do you do, how do you do that?

IK: okay, well there's two ways that we actually do that. One we actually partnered up with a very famous doctor, its Dr Malcolm Vandenberg is his name, and he's actually a consultant pharmacologist, but he also has lots of other specialities, and he's been providing expert reports for many many years. So when we initially started, we decided to partner up with him and work on cases with him. So he was turning down a lot of work, so he forwarded us a lot of work, he then obviously taught us how to best structure the business, which would be the best way of working. So that in terms of how we started up that was through him.

MT: and you had a connection with him? Or...

IK: yes, we we we... we brought him in as a shareholder in, I'd say, early October. So we got him into the business very early doors because he was fundamental in pushing the business forward.

MT: and do you... Do any of you have backgrounds in medicine, or...?

IK: um... We we we we don't, but you don't actually need that, you just need an understanding of the medical terminology, which you can pick up very quickly. Now, so when a solicitor rings up with an instruction, we sometimes advise them differently, they say well I need X, and we might say, well actually you need Y, because this is what you're looking at. And it's something you can pick

up very quickly. It's very much... I wouldn't say... I wouldn't call it like recruitment, but there are similarities, because all you're doing... You're getting some details and you're placing the correct person with the correct expertise to work on that particular case so it has similarities.

MT: so you're almost matching... almost a matching service... And do you promote yourselves online as well, or is it all word of mouth...?

IK: no, no, we have a very strong online presence. It was one of the first things that we actually did, was create a website through another London-based company, quite a good one... And then we did some online marketing in February, which I think has had a huge impact on you know the amount of instructions that we're receiving.

MT: that's great, thank you. And in terms of your arrangement here with the rent you pay and stuff, are you on a lease for a certain amount of time or is it more informal than that?

IK: it's a lease for a period of time, but we're inclined to one month notice. But it is a lease for a 12 month period which expires in June.

MT: so at the moment you're sort of... Well more like towards like the end of your first year?

IK: that's correct.

MT: and will you renew your lease?

IK: oh, 100%, without a shadow of a doubt we'll be renewing.

MT: and your relationship with the centre, how does that work?

IK: they're fantastic, very helpful. In terms of the centre itself, they do a lot of charity work which I think is very very important for this particular community, in particular. Ben's fantastic at what he does, he's always on the go, he's always

trying to keep the centre afloat and with very minimum backup, they have very minimal backup from anywhere, they all pretty much run it themselves and they do a fantastic job. I see, when I see, when I drive in in the morning, I see you know, them taking the small children to school, and then when we come back in the evening, or when I'm leaving in the evenings, the small children are still here, so obviously they're waiting for their parents who were working. And it's fantastic for the kids, it helps I'm assuming it helps a lot of parents out, who are working who can't afford the relevant childcare, and these guys are assisting with that so... I mean, I believe that they do a lot of good things for the community.

MT: and its... I mean the thing that I'm quite interested in understanding is how the work that they do in the way that you're describing might also be related to the work they do in terms of providing space for small businesses.

IK: yes, I mean what they do for us is fantastic, I mean we've got us here... We've got er Unitas up the corridor, and then we've got Top Sales UK, and I know Top Sales UK is on quite a low rent, and he particular is doing very well as a result, if he was out on other sites in a similar location he'd be paying a minimum of £15-£1800 rent a month, and for his business he wouldn't be able to survive for sure. For us, I mean if we were paying you know £1500 a month for a slightly larger space but more central, we as a business wouldn't initially have been able to survive... OK, now we may be able to move into a slightly bigger space, but at the moment for us it makes commercial sense to just stay here, it works for us.

MT: and in terms of the other activities and services that this centre runs, do you know of any of the small businesses, the start-ups, that make use of those services, or have any connection with those services?

IK: I mean, they run five-a-side football, here which is great, they also have a gym downstairs which again is very very... I think it's free for us to use which is great, helps me keep in shape, not that I'm in great shape (laughs). But err but it was I think a £10 induction course, which we paid, which goes to the charity, which is nothing, considering the amount you pay for membership elsewhere, I

mean you know you're talking £40 to £50 upwards, so in hard times, in the current economy, this place is helping out a lot of different people in different ways. They're helping us out massively and I'm sure that they're helping out the other businesses as well, because I know Unitas, you know, needed lower rent, and the type of work that they do, I'm 99% sure that you know if they were anywhere else it wouldn't be working.

## G. Interviews with market traders, businesses and other actors at Wards Corner

### *i. List of interviews (13 in total)*

Name	Business / Organisation	Date and place of interview
Ben Nyerende	Ben Property Solutions (lettings)	14/03/14, Seven Sisters market
Moaz Nanjuwany	The Eye Practice (optician) and chair of Tottenham Traders Partnership	14/03/14, The Eye Practice (Bruce Grove)
Anonymous 1	Hollywood (hair salon) and Latin Town (cultural network)	14/03/14 & 17/03/14, Seven Sisters market
Marta Hinestroza*	Oasis Unisex Salon (beauty salon) and Viva London Seven (charity)	17/03/14, Seven Sisters market
Rickey Gill	Tottenham Wine (off-license)	17/03/14, Tottenham Wine (West Green Rd)
(Cesar) Francisco Yunda and Mirca Morera*	Videomania (video rental) and Latin Corner UK (campaign group)	24/03/14, Seven Sisters market
Anonymous 2	Carniceria Martinez (butcher)	25/03/14, Seven Sisters market
Fabian Cataño*	Restaurante Manantial (restaurant)	26/03/14, Seven Sisters market
Carlos Burgos	Pedro Achata Trust (non-profit)	17/03/14, Seven Sisters market
Raul Mancera	Obsessions (hair salon) and Chair of NE London branch of Federation of Small Businesses	21/03/14, Obsessions (Westbury Avenue)
Anonymous 3	Church of Christian Development	21/03/14, Seven Sisters market
Jill Oakley	Manager, Seven Sisters market	21/03/14, Seven Sisters market
Anonymous 4	Working for Jill Oakley, Seven Sisters market	26/03/14, Seven Sisters market

\* Interview conducted in Spanish

## ***ii. Semi-structured questionnaire***

### *A. Collecting the core information for WCC and Our Tottenham*

#### Contact information

Name of business

Address

Name of proprietor

Where does proprietor live? [postcode ideally]

Phone number

Email address

Best way to contact

Best times to contact

#### Additional questions to update JJ's survey (thanks to JJ)

Type of business [activity]

Type of business [independent/franchise...]

Country of origin/birth of proprietor

Age of business

How long on this site?

Number of employees

Full time/part time/estimated

Where do they live? [postcodes ideally]

Tenure? E.g. License holder / Leaseholder / Freeholder / Some other arrangement?

Name of freeholder if not freeholder:

Nature of license / lease: Number of years left? Right to renew?

#### Additional questions for OT Local Economy Survey (thanks to Jane Clossick)

What did proprietor do before?

Where do your customers come from?

How many customers do you serve a day/week?

Where are your products sourced from?

Do any additional businesses share the space? [do separate questionnaire for them if poss; record details to follow-up; take photo]

### *B. Update on development plans*

What impact are the development plans for Wards Corner having on you and your business, if any?

What do you know about Grainger's plans for Wards Corner? What is the latest you have heard? [specifically re: re-provision of the market and CPO]

What involvement have you had in these plans, if any?

Prompt (if needed): are you involved in any business organisations or groups?

What do you know about the Wards Corner Community Plan?

What involvement have you had in this plan, if any?

Are you aware of any other plans for this area? e.g. Site Allocations, Area Action Plans and Tottenham Futures consultation. Provide information.

Have you been involved in any of these?

What would you like to happen at Wards Corner in the future?

What involvement would you like to have in this?

What would you need for this to happen? [e.g. information; meetings; commitments; resources; training...]

### *C. Sticky World*

Explain about the Community Plan and Sticky World – user-friendly interactive online platform – in place of 100s pages of planning documents.

Log in to Sticky World (register them, if poss)

Help them to navigate the site and explore it; help them to make comments using sticky notes as they go along.

If needed, navigate through the site for them and input comments directly.

If needed, use the questions in Sticky World as prompts.

### *D. Building relationships*

What has your involvement been in WCC so far?

How can we strengthen relationships between businesses and traders and WCC?

What could WCC do to support you, and vice versa?



Provide information about next WCC meeting and email list.

Are you aware that other businesses in Tottenham are also due to be demolished through development schemes?

How could Tottenham businesses support each other?

What can Tottenham residents do to support businesses?

Provide information about next Our Tottenham Local Economy meeting and email list. Do they want to join?

**iii. Example transcript extract (Carniceria Martinez)**

Myfanwy Taylor (MT): It's the only one. And you said you were from Colombia? Were you born here or born in Colombia?

Carniceria Martinez (CM): No, born in Colombia.

MT: And how long have you been operating from Seven Sisters Market?

CM: Seven years now.

MT: Seven years. And is that when the business began or were you somewhere else before?

CM: No we started here.

MT: And why did you start here?

CM: We literally started with Manuel. You know Manuel?

MT: In here?

CM: Yeah, but he was, I partnered up with Manuel.

MT: Okay, started the Caniceria with Manuel? Okay.

CM: Yeah, and then he got too much work, so he literally just left it for me.

MT: And now Manuel is here. So are you with this family here too?

CM: No.

MT: No, different family.

CM: No, just with, we needed, well we wanted to start the business, and Manuel, he's really not here, so like, he's called us over and said, 'Oh listen, there is an offer for a butcher.' And we took it on. We took it on with him, and then a couple of years after he's got too much work, so he just said, 'Listen, just carry on, I can't be doing this and that.'

MT: Sure, so was it a butcher already there then?

CM: Yeah there was a butcher there.

MT: Not called Martinez.

CM: No, it was called, it moved up the road.

MT: Oh, okay.

CM: It was called Bonanza.

MT: Oh right, so are they still there?

CM: Yeah, they are still there.

MT: Ah, there are a number of businesses that started here and they moved to take bigger units. Yeah.

CM: Yeah, but some of them struggle. Same, Columbian type of sausages and things. I don't think, like, we're friends yeah? But they do say they struggle a lot.

MT: Really?

CM: Because it is really different now. Everyone is here, and for you to get customers out there, it's really, cause this is a really good spot, like you get underground, get here, you get parking space right at the back. So it's like really, really important. Other people from, you wouldn't want to go, you've got a

vehicle you wouldn't want to go and pay and park really far away and you just have to walk and then walk back with your bags and everything.

MT: Yeah and it's like what you were saying about that it was cheap to start a business up here. How did that work for you?

CM: It was really cheap, I mean, well back then it was like, I started like two grand. But we had to literally, cause two grand then was just like [inaudible 1:03:36] we needed to buy the meat. So it was really, really, really cheap. But we haven't got a huge amount of money, that is something which can literally just provide your food for your family, and your rent and things like that. So it is really, really helpful, and back then, I had some savings and I wanted to start something of my own. Came the opportunity, we started the business, not a lot of money, and that keeps them going.

MT: Yeah, that's great, and what where you doing before you started?

CM: I used to be a cleaner before I started.

MT: Yeah. Working in London as well?

CM: Yeah.

MT: Yeah, and how many people working with you?

CM: Just me and my dad.

MT: Full time? Both of you working full time?

CM: We try part time. He does half a day and I do half a day.

MT: Okay. And is your nephew working there as well?

CM: Nah, my brother.

MT: It's your brother. I'm getting confused with all the arrangements. And the lady who works there as well?

CM: She's my mum.

MT: Okay, so it's the family. The whole family.

CM: And they just come around and help around.

MT: And do they all live in Hertfordshire too?

CM: No, my mum lives in Tottenham.

MT: Okay. So she is local.

CM: Yeah, my mum is local. And my brother.

MT: And you brother and dad, so just you in Hertfordshire.

CM: Yeah just me and my family.

MT: Where in Tottenham do they live?

CM: They live in, off Lordship Lane.

MT: Okay, and you've, have you got a licence for the unit? Is that til, or is it Manuel's license?

CM: For what?

MT: For your unit.

CM: No it's my licence.

MT: Til September next year?

CM: Yeah, I think it was until then.

MT: Okay, great. And your customers, where do they come from? All over London or mainly Tottenham?

CM: No, you get customers from all over London. We get customers who say, we get customers here from Scotland.

MT: Really?

CM: Yeah, when they come visit, they say, 'Ah I have to take this.' And they have to go back. We get people who come here, well they don't really come for, to come especially, but when they come here, they usually have to take things back to Scotland. We've got two customers from Scotland. Every time they are in London, they say they have to come past and get some meat from here and then take it. And we've got a lady, really, really, really good customer, she comes twice a week and she comes all the way from Fulham.

MT: Wow.

CM: So we get a lot of people from, I get people from Elephant and everything.

MT: Oh yeah. Great. So how many roughly customers do you think you have a day or a week? An estimate.

CM: Probably about 30 customers a day. During the week isn't it? Saturday and Sunday probably, I don't know.

MT: A lot more.

CM: Yeah, like 100s isn't it?

MT: Oh really?

CM: Yeah.

MT: Yeah, it is very busy on the weekend.

CM: Yeah all weekend, like, it's really, really busy. If we had like space, I reckon, and it were like more, if we were to be like on the outside, I think it would be a better for the business.

MT: You could have more space you think? Okay, I'm going to write that in for your comment.

CM: Cause like, the limited space, you can't really...

MT: So you are limited by space at the moment?

CM: Yeah. The whole space is taken by the cold room.

MT: Oh really?

CM: Yeah, see that white, big box?

MT: Yeah, yeah.

CM: That's the cold room. That's like the whole space.

MT: Great, cause this is another thing to show that there is, it could grow, you know, if there is enough interest for it to grow. More space. Okay.

#### iv. Consent form



### Myfanwy Taylor PhD Project Interview Consent Form

**Contact:** If you have any questions you can contact me at:

Email: ...

Mobile: ...

Address: ...

**Purpose:** My study concerns economic diversity, urban planning and community participation in London. The study is made up of three case studies, one at the metropolitan scale (London) and two at the borough and neighbourhood scale (Newham and Haringey). It involves interviews, document and archival analysis, and collaborative research and participation with community groups actively engaging with planning policy and decisions in London on economic issues (including Just Space, Our Tottenham and the Carpenters Community Plan group). I would be very happy to develop and maintain a dialogue with those who participate in my study. **We will discuss whether / how you would like to remain in touch or involved in the study during the interview**, for example by receiving copies of research outputs.

**Procedures:** Today's interview which will last for about 45 minutes. The main purpose is to seek your feedback on the Wards Corner Community Plan, via the online platform, 'Sticky World'. I'll also ask you for some basic information about your business for Wards Corner Community Coalition, which will also feed into a local economy survey for Tottenham. We will also discuss your experiences of the planning process, and how businesses and communities can support each other at Wards Corner and in Tottenham more generally. **With your permission, I will record your interview.**

**Confidentiality:** I ask for your consent to use your name and organisational affiliation in my study, but you may chose to remain anonymous. Any other identifying information that is obtained during this study will be kept strictly confidential. Data from your interview will be kept in a locked filing cabinet or be computer password protected in electronic format.

**Consent:** Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time. **During the interview you may decline to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable.** You also have received a copy of this form for your own records. Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Would you like to remain anonymous? (circle) Y / N



### Appendix 3 What happened next (November 2014 to August 2017)

While the **Just Space Economy and Planning** group initially suffered a dip in momentum as I withdrew to write my thesis, gradually other participants came forward to take on different roles and lead specific initiatives, including Ilinca Diaconescu, Patria Roman-Velazquez, Jessica Ferm and Michael Edwards. Financial resources were also found through collaborations with UCL and the London School of Economics to support some aspects of this work. Over the next two years, JSEP developed and launched its workspace handbook (2015a), engaged with the GLA's new industrial land review, radically expanded student involvement in mapping high street and industrial economies at both UCL and CASS Cities (featured in Ferm, Jones and Edwards' (2017) catalogue of local economy studies), inputted into Just Space's (2016a) community-led plan for London and participated in a series of discussions with GLA Economics (at their invitation) about the new version of the Economic Evidence Base document under development for a new London Plan and a new Mayor (JSEP 2016). JSEP continues to challenge the emphasis on narrowly-defined growth and London's international specialisms at the heart of the global city growth model underpinning the London Plan, including through lines of dialogue and communication with the GLA which are beginning to have an impact. JSEP's efforts have already resulted in considerably greater (albeit still inadequate) recognition of the importance of economic diversity to London's long-term economic success and resilience within GLA Economics' new Economic Evidence Base (GLA Economics 2016)<sup>1</sup>.

After the end of my research with the Carpenters Community Plan group and the Newham Network, the emerging **Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum** (GCNF) continued to gradually work towards meeting the requirements of formal designation, including defining its neighbourhood area, developing a written constitution and growing its membership, with the support of LTF and others. The neighbourhood forum and area were formally designated by the LLDC in July 2015 and the GCNF published a draft neighbourhood plan in February 2017 (GCNF 2015, 2016 and 2017). The draft GCNF confirms residents' continuing support for existing businesses, sets out a vision for local

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<sup>1</sup> Jessica Ferm, personal communication, 26 May 2017.

economic development which benefits existing residents and businesses and prioritises building strong and active relationships between residents and businesses. Eight Carpenters businesses are members of the GNCF, several of whom have supported and remained connected with the Forum in particular ways, for example moo.com printed Forum newsletters for free.<sup>2</sup> The Forum has struggled to engage businesses in the process of formally designating the form or developing its draft neighbourhood plan, however.<sup>3</sup> Several businesses have left the area, including Stratford Wire Works, BMA Ltd and moo.com, while another (P.A. Finlay) has explored partnering with a developer drawing up redevelopment plans for the estate.<sup>4</sup> Dialogue is also opening up with other businesses however, including several along Stratford High Street which are also part of the Stratford Business Improvement District.<sup>5</sup> Experience with the Carpenters Community Plan group suggests that dedicated support and assistance may be needed once again in order to realise the GNCF's aim to improve business involvement and develop a Carpenters business forum.<sup>6</sup>

The **Newham Network** did not meet after the conclusion of the EiP on the LLDC local plan in March 2015, this being the main focus of the London Tenants Federation (LTF) project of which it was a part. After this project concluded, however, LTF obtained additional funding for further work in the LLDC area, as well as Old Oak and Park Royal in west London, the focus of the second Mayoral Development Corporation. In the LLDC area, LTF focussed resources on supporting the development of the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum, with the result that the relationships, knowledge and experience built up through the Newham Network has not yet been further developed<sup>7</sup>. However, when LTF brought the Newham Network, Hackney Network and the Tower Hamlets Network together for a joint conference in September 2016, the three networks confirmed their wish to re-form under a single network which could continue to monitor the Olympic Legacy.<sup>8</sup> Sharon

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<sup>2</sup> Sharon Hayward (London Tenants Federation), personal communication, 7 February, 16 March and 22 May 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Sharon Hayward (London Tenants Federation), personal communication, 7 February 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Sharon Hayward (London Tenants Federation), personal communication, 7 February and 16 March 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Sharon Hayward (London Tenants Federation), personal communication, 22 May 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Sharon Hayward (London Tenants Federation), personal communication, 11 July 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Sharon Hayward, personal communication, 22 May 2017.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

Hayward (LTF) reports that this emerging network is presently looking for funding and a host organisation to support it in functioning.<sup>9</sup> This new Olympic legacy network may provide an opportunity and focus to reconvene the diverse economic actors who participated in the consultation and EiP on the economic aspects of the LLDC local plan through the Newham Network.

The timing of the consultation and EiP on the Tottenham Area Action Plan (AAP) meant that I was unable to support the **Our Tottenham Local Economy working group** (OTLE) through to the end of this process. By the time the EiP came round in August and September 2016, OTLE was no longer active. The Our Tottenham Planning Policy working group (OTPP) coordinated the network's engagement with the EiP, focussing its attention on housing issues such as loss of social housing, estate renewal programmes, the right to return to new developments and rehousing options, managing to secure some minor alterations (Our Tottenham 2016a and 2016b). OT was less well represented on the employment land issues OTLE had focussed on, despite their best efforts, as representatives of the Tottenham Business Group (TBG) were on holiday or ill, I was unable to take part at this time, and none of the other researchers and architects who had joined in OTLE's earlier discussions were available.<sup>10</sup> OTPP had not been able to obtain any other representation, although the OTPP reps did manage to cross-reference OTLE's views.<sup>11</sup> Dave Morris (Our Tottenham) reports little involvement of business groups in the broader network, including TBG (whose vice chair had been seriously ill in this period) and the Tottenham Traders Partnership (which was no longer chaired by WCC member Moaz Nanjuwany) who had been particularly active within OTLE.<sup>12</sup> Several people told me they or others had had to take a break from campaigning due to illness, stress, burnout or family responsibilities. Like many of the other groups I worked with, OT's reliance on the hard work and resources of a small number of individuals made it difficult to sustain activities if these key individuals withdrew. It is therefore rather difficult to point to any longer-term impact of OTLE's work. However, it is possible that the work begun by OTLE to survey the local economy may now be taken forward through OT's re-started community

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Dave Morris (Our Tottenham), personal communication, 25 February 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Dave Morris (Our Tottenham), personal communication, 25 February 2017; Claire Colomb (Our Tottenham and UCL), personal communication, 22 March 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Dave Morris (Our Tottenham), personal communication, 25 February 2017.

mapping initiative.<sup>13</sup> In addition, while TBG is no longer active, a new campaign group has formed to represent businesses threatened with displacement by the High Road West (HRW) scheme, Tottenham Biz.<sup>14</sup> These recent developments, long after OTLE was active, provide grounds for hope that the relationships, knowledge and ideas developed by OTLE may yet resurface and be further developed.

Although my research with the **Wards Corner Community Coalition** (WCC) ended in October 2014, I remained actively involved in working towards delivering the community plan for Wards Corner until February 2016. In early 2015, the **West Green/Seven Sisters Development Trust** began to meet with market traders, local businesses and residents, through a series of meetings I organised on behalf of the Trustees. The Trust then developed an Action Plan to guide its future work to deliver the community plan, funded by a 'First Steps' grant from Locality,<sup>15</sup> which I provided organisational support for. Through its First Steps project, the Trust recruited a steering group of 12 volunteers, set up four working groups working on governance; stakeholder engagement and communications; business plan and funding; and feasibility studies, and held several large community events (the Trust 2015a, 2015b and 2016). These groups made significant progress, for example, preparing a major funding application to the Heritage Lottery's Heritage Enterprise Foundation;<sup>16</sup> setting up weekly meetings in Seven Sisters market; and defining key governance questions to be addressed. The 'N15 Action Plan' (named after the first part of the postcode for Wards Corner) was collectively produced by the steering group and working groups, with design and layout support from a small group of UCL-Just Space volunteers, and launched at Seven Sisters market in February 2016. During this period, the Trust, Pueblito Paisa and WCC also met several times with Transport for London (TfL) officials to explore possibilities for taking on the short-term lease of the existing market space and the long-term lease of the corner and market buildings as a whole.

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Patricia Percy (Tottenham Business Group), personal communication, 1 March 2017.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.cdf.org.uk/content/funding-programmes/first-steps/>

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.hlf.org.uk/looking-funding/our-grant-programmes/heritage-enterprise>

In parallel, however, the threats posed by the Grainger development continued to multiply and intensify. In August 2015, the Trust and the market traders association, Pueblito Paisa, challenged TfL's decision to agree Jill Oakley's request to transfer her existing market lease to Market Asset Management (Seven Sisters), a company linked to Grainger's market facilitator, Quarterbridge, and issue a new five year lease shortly afterwards. Traders began to experience problems with the new market manager, including threats and abusive language, failure to tackle basic maintenance and security issues, problems with parking and access, and extremely high utilities bills. Market traders have also met regularly to discuss Grainger's proposals for Wards Corner and neighbouring Apex House, including arrangements for a temporary market in the latter, and attempted to represent themselves through the 'Steering Group' set up by Grainger to facilitate discussions.

Campaigning efforts stepped up further still when Haringey Council issued the long-expected Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) notice to remaining traders, businesses and residents on the Wards Corner site in September 2016. Traders, businesses and residents have worked on multiple fronts to fundraise for legal representation, collect information to build a case around abuses of human rights and discrimination against ethnic minorities, and organise several large-scale events and demonstrations. The injection of new resources, skills and networks through the London Latinxs, a radical anti-oppression grassroots group of mainly Latin American community organisers and activists in London, contributed to what was perhaps the largest mobilisation to date in support of Wards Corner and Seven Sisters market, when around a thousand people gathered for a Salsa and Samba Shutdown on 8 April 2017 (London Latinxs nd, Latin Corner UK and London Latinxs 2016; see Figure 1.1). These campaigning efforts produced CPO objections in sufficient number and seriousness to result in a two-week public enquiry in July 2017, where many traders and residents gave compelling and moving evidence, as well as planning, human rights and equalities experts.

These threats have diverted limited resources and attention away from working towards delivering the community plan.<sup>17</sup> Little progress has been made since the publication of the N15 Action Plan in February 2016. The Steering Group and Working Groups set up through this project have not continued to meet, provide oversight for delivering the action plan or develop into an interim Trust as had been hoped.<sup>18</sup> However, WCC did successfully apply for mentoring and support from the Prince's Regeneration Trust, which resulted in a series of discussions about setting up a Community Interest Company (CIC) to deliver the community plan.<sup>19</sup> Although it is not clear whether or how a new CIC might relate to the Trust,<sup>20</sup> setting up a new dedicated-purpose delivery vehicle may provide an opportunity to develop clear and transparent funding and governance which ensure the many different groups and interests concerned are fully represented and involved.

Furthermore, in the process of challenging the CPO, Pueblito Paisa, Latin Corner UK, WCC and the Trust have mobilised new support and resources from across their wide and diverse networks. For example, thanks in particular to the tireless campaigning of Mirca Morera (Latin Corner UK), the threat of the CPO produced a statement from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2017) setting out their concerns about the threat to Latin American cultural life and a commitment of funds from Colombian artist, Oscar Murillo, to purchase a long-lease of the market and corner building in order to deliver the community plan. In addition, the CPO enquiry has provided multiple opportunities to re-affirm and strengthen solidarity amongst the various groups and interests involved through shared experiences and mutual support. If the proposed CPO is not confirmed, the relationships, knowledge and resources built through this latest, extremely demanding stage in more than 10 years of campaigning will be powerfully re-directed towards delivering ambitions for community-led development at Wards Corner.

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<sup>17</sup> Shirley Hanazawa (WCC), personal communication, 29 March 2017.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Shirley Hanazawa (WCC), personal communication, 29 March 2017.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*